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MEMOIR
OF THE
DUKE OF RICHMOND,
K.G., P.C.



THE DUKE OF RICHMOND

FROM AN ORIGINAL PORTRAIT PAINTED 1743 BY WALTER TULLY, MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF ST. JAMES,
AND CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF PARIS.

ENGRAVED BY J. H. B. FOR G. ALLEN & CO., 10, BROADWAY.

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MEMOIR
OF
CHARLES GORDON - LENNOX,
FIFTH
DUKE OF RICHMOND,

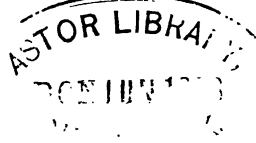
K.G., P.C.

With a Portrait.

Lord William Pitt Lennox

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, 'This was a man.'"

Shakspeare



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1862.

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CPH

P

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ROYAL
SOCIETY
OF
MEDICINE

TO
THE FARMERS OF GREAT BRITAIN,

This Memoir

OF ONE OF THEIR SINCEREST FRIENDS

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

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MEMOIR

OF

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

CHAPTER I.

THE THIRD DUKE OF RICHMOND—DUEL WITH THE DUKE OF YORK—
WATERLOO—APPOINTED GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA—BITE
OF A FOX—TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS AND DEATH—GOODWOOD—ITS
EARLY HISTORY—THE DUKE'S ESTATE IN SCOTLAND.

In the following pages we have attempted to describe the life of a great and good man, whose honourable and useful career was cut short too soon for his country. As one of England's worthies, he preferred to pass his days unostentatiously in benefiting his fellow men; and though the highest political offices were within his grasp, although his name and abilities would have enabled him to figure brilliantly in the bede-roll of our legislators, he considered that property has its duties as well as its rights, and devoted himself to a useful sphere of action, which has begun to prove itself of the greatest advantage to the community. The good seed sown by the Duke of Richmond is already budding with promise, and his example induced many of his peers to imitate him. To the great

body of the public, the good deeds of the Duke of Richmond are comparatively unknown, and we trust in the progress of our work, to show that no apology is requisite for writing the Memoirs of such a man. Historians are too apt to overlook the victories of peace: they charge their palettes with the most brilliant colours, to depict the exploits of great generals and conquerors; but they consider it beneath their dignity to record the services of men who effect equally important conquests over the prejudices and ignorance of the nation, or furnish an example worthy of emulation by their peers.

The subject of our Memoir, Charles, Fifth Duke of Richmond, was the eldest son of the Fourth Duke, by Charlotte, daughter of Alexander, Duke of Gordon, to whom he was married in 1789. The Fourth Duke, son of Lord George Henry Lennox, was born in 1764, and succeeded to the title and estates in 1806. He entered the army, obtaining a commission in the Coldstream Guards, in 1795 was promoted to a colonelcy, and in 1814 attained general's rank, with the command of the 35th Regiment. While in the Guards, he had an unfortunate dispute with the Duke of York, his commanding officer, which terminated in a duel. The unusual, almost unprecedented, occurrence of a prince of the blood, standing so near the throne, risking his life in such a manner, created an intense excitement at the time, and is commented on by many contemporary writers. In 1807 the Duke, who had always been a consistent supporter of the Tory party, was appointed Viceroy of Ireland, in which country he spent six years;

and won all hearts by his affability and cordiality. After his recall he retired to Brussels with his family; and it was at a ball, given by the Duchess, on June 15, 1815, that the Duke of Wellington received news of the French advance. On the morning of the 18th, the Duke rode out to Waterloo to shake his friend Wellington by the hand, and see his two sons—the subject of this memoir and Lord George—who were both actively employed, the former as aide-de-camp to the Hereditary Prince of Holland, and the latter on the Commander-in-chief's staff. Siborne thus alludes to the circumstance:—"Just as the Enniskillings were on the point of advancing across the Wavre road to charge, an individual in plain clothes on their left called out, 'Now's your time!' This was the late Duke of Richmond, who was induced by his intimacy with the Duke of Wellington and the interest he naturally felt in the campaign, to repair to the field of battle, not in a military capacity, for he held no rank in the army, but merely as an amateur."

In 1818 the Duke was appointed Governor-General of Canada, but he enjoyed a brief tenure of his honours, for he died in Upper Canada, on August 28, 1819. As so many statements, more or less incorrect, have been published about the sad death of this popular nobleman, the following account, obtained from an eye-witness, will probably be read with interest.

About the middle of June, the Duke, who had resolved to visit the upper provinces, and inspect the outposts under his command, left Quebec, on his way to Montreal, in the government steamer. The first station he visited was Mount Henry, or Sorel, on the south bank

of the St. Lawrence, about 120 miles from Quebec. It was here that the accident took place which was destined to prove fatal. A pet fox, belonging to a private of the small garrison, was being worried by a dog, and, in attempting to separate them, the Duke was bitten by one of the animals. As the wound was but a slight one, he paid no attention to it, and proceeded to Montreal, and thence up the country, accompanied only by Colonel Cockburn, D.Q.M.G., and Major Bowles, his military secretary. By the time the Duke reached Kingston, the wound had completely healed; and when his two sons, Lords William and Frederick, joined him at Niagara, the circumstance had almost been forgotten.

After a visit to Drummond's island, on Lake Huron, the most advanced of our outposts, the Duke returned to Kingston, where he remained for a week in the highest spirits, playing racquets and cricket with the officers of the garrison. As the Duke wished, prior to his return home, to inaugurate a new township, to be called in his honour, Richmondville; and as there was no road leading to it, it was arranged that the party should proceed on foot. All the authorities civil and military were invited to dine under canvas with the Duke, and a very merry party left Kingston for the purpose.

The Duke appeared unusually well: he walked the greater part of the distance, and sat down to dinner in high spirits. After a very convivial evening the party broke up, and the only alloy to the pleasures was a remark the Duke accidentally let fall: while sipping his claret, he said to Colonel Cockburn, "I don't know how it is, Cockburn, but I cannot relish my wine to-night as usual:

and I feel, that if I were a dog, I should be shot as a mad one."

Both Colonel Cockburn and Major Bowles were alarmed at this remark ; and that alarm was heightened the next morning, when they found their chief feverish and unwell. Toward evening he grew so much worse, that Major Bowles dispatched a messenger to Montreal, to announce to his daughter and sons their father's sudden and alarming illness.

In the evening, however, the Duke rallied a little, and ordered his valet to prepare him some port wine negus and dry toast ; but, on putting the glass to his lips he shuddered and exclaimed, " I cannot drink." The next morning the Duke was determined to reach Montreal at all risk, and procure medical attendance ; and his friends were further alarmed at hearing from the valet, that his master had shrunk from his daily ablutions, and could only endure a wet towel on his hands and face.

In order to expedite the journey, a canoe was ordered to the nearest point of the river ; and after a hasty breakfast, the party proceeded to the river bank. Leaning on the arms of his companions, the Duke approached the water side, but on coming within a few yards of it, he was seized with the most violent spasms. Still, with desperate resolution, he forced himself onward, exclaiming, " Charles Lennox never yet was afraid of anything."

No sooner had his Grace, accompanied by Major Bowles, taken his seat, than the boatmen pushed off, and some hope was entertained that the crisis had passed over. This was, however, not to be realised, for,

in a few seconds, the Duke was attacked by a fresh paroxysm, and, in a frenzied tone, commanded the boatmen to row to land. The order was instantly obeyed; and, on approaching the shore, the Duke leaped from the boat and made for an adjoining wood. Colonel Cockburn, who had mounted his horse for the purpose of apprising the boatmen at the head of the rapids of the approach of the Governor-General, had not ridden far when he saw his chief running at the top of his speed away from the river. To gallop up to him, and procure aid to convey the sufferer to a neighbouring farm-house, was the work of a few moments; but, even then, the Duke's sufferings were so agonising that he eagerly implored to be carried still further from the river.

This request was promptly complied with; and, supported by Colonel Cockburn and Major Bowles, the Head of the Lennox's was removed to a barn in the rear of the house, where a rude bed of clean straw had been hastily prepared. From this moment it was visible that death was at hand, and the Duke himself was conscious of the fact. Perfectly calm and collected, he gave his old friend Major Bowles his parting instructions; and, after a few hours of intense agony, this revered nobleman breathed his last. His body was removed to Quebec, and after lying in state in the Chateau, was buried beneath the communion table of the cathedral.*

* Many versions have been given of the cause of the Duke of Richmond's death; and many strange statements have been made as to his character. In a work entitled, "The Shoe and Canoe; or

According to Sir Bernard Burke, his successor in the title and estates was born in Whitehall Gardens in 1791. We will quote here from the same source his titles in full :—

“Richmond, Fifth Duke of: created 1675: Earl of March, Baron of Settrington (England); Duke of Lennox, Earl of Darnley, Baron Methuen (Scotland), 1675; Duke of Aubigny (France), 1683-4.”

The estates to which the subject of our memoir succeeded were large, and deserve more detailed notice, especially Goodwood, “that glory of the turf,” with which the name of the Duke of Richmond is so thoroughly connected.

The domain of the Richmond family comprises the three contiguous estates of Halnaker, Goodwood, and West Hampnett. Goodwood House is situated on the

Pictures of Travel in the Canadas,” the author, Dr. Bigsby, thus refers to his Grace :—“I served under two Governors-General, the late Duke of Richmond and the late Earl of Dalhousie—two men, though both Scotchmen, I think as dissimilar as could well be found. The Duke was Irish all over—frank, benevolent, sanguine, expensive, a lover of sporting men, and an occasional gentlemanly carouse. In the exercise of his public functions he was most probably bound hand and foot to the narrow policy of the Castlereagh ministry. The Duke of Richmond died of hydrophobia, very distressingly, in the backwoods of the river Ottawa. A Plantagenet dying thus, in a hovel in a Canadian wild, might be made a very searching text. He was popular and much lamented.” The slightest research, or inquiry, would have convinced the worthy M.D. that the object of his notice was neither a Scotchman nor a Plantagenet. It is true he married a Scotchwoman, but, as to bearing the badge of the noble Plantagenets, the Duke had no claim to it. But the high-sounding title suited the Doctor’s purpose, and he sacrificed plain matter of fact to poetical fiction.

side of the western range of the Sussex Downs, with its well-timbered park of 1200 acres, its magnificent kennels, pheasantry, commodious stables, &c. The view from the heights above the house is exceedingly fine; it embraces the highly cultivated landscape scenery below, studded with farm-houses, villages, and hamlets, the cathedral city of Chichester, with its lofty spire, and the English Channel, with the well-wooded heights of the Isle of Wight.

Halnaker was purchased in 1765 by Charles, Third Duke of Richmond, by whom it was entailed with the remaining property. The house, now a ruin, was built in the reign of Henry VIII., and is the only specimen in this part of the country of the castellated Tudor order. After the death of Mary, wife of James Earl & Derby, in 1752, who had inherited the property from her father, Sir W. Morley, the house remained unoccupied, and was allowed to fall into decay. The park of no great size, contains an avenue of fine chestnut trees, and was formerly stocked with deer, disposed of however, during the late Duke's life, for he preferred Southdown sheep.

West Hampnett, formerly attached to the manor of Halnaker, was also purchased by the third Duke. The original house, an old gothic structure, was pulled down, and a portion of the present manor built by Sir W. Chambers; while, in 1800, the Duke commenced those extensive additions which produced the present noble mansion, and which were carried out by James Wyatt, the architect.

Goodwood, situated in the parish of Boxgrove, derives

its name from its Saxon owner, and was included in the survey made of the kingdom by order of the Norman Conqueror. It appears in Domesday Book as Godinwood. It remained in the hands of its Saxon owner, who, in the same record, is described as "Liber homo." In the reign of Henry I., the lordships of Boxgrove and Halnaker were united, and given to Robert de Haia, who had married a lady of the blood royal. Through his descendants on the female side it passed to Sir Thomas West, Lord De-la-War, who was, in 1540, compelled by Henry VIII. to exchange it for the valley of Whewell in Hampshire.

The estate remained vested in the crown up to 1560, when Henry Earl of Arundel obtained a grant to hold it *in capite*; and in 1584 John Lord Lumley and Jane Fitzalan his wife, sold it to Henry Walrond, Esq. In the reign of Charles II., it appears to have been in the possession of Caryll of Harting, for an act of attainder against John Caryll of Goodwood was passed in the 26th year of that monarch's reign. About the year 1720, the estate passed by purchase to the First Duke of Richmond, but he did not live long to enjoy it.

Upon the death of the Duke of Gordon, in 1836, Gordon Castle, and the princely estates attached to it, devolved to the late Duke of Richmond. Alexander, Fourth Duke of Gordon, entailed these estates on the subject of this Memoir, who was his grandson, in the event of his son, the Fifth Duke of Gordon, dying without issue.

CHAPTER II.

SCHOOL DAYS — RICHARD LIFFORD — WESTMINSTER — THE FAGGING SYSTEM—GENERAL EDUCATION OF THE DUKE—THE MARQUIS OF ANGLESEY—THE DUKE AT GOODWOOD—A HARD DAY'S WORK—LIFE IN LONDON.

At an early age, the Duke, then known as Mr. Lennox, was sent to Mr. Howe's school at Chiswick, and thence migrated a few months later to Westminster, which was then in its glory, and became a boarder at Glover's, in Great Dean's Yard.

Among his youthful contemporaries we may mention two, with whom he was destined to come into closer connection at a later date—Lord John Russell and Sir James Graham. Many other lads of noble birth and commanding talent were his schoolmates, but there was one to whom he most clung, although a stain of dishonour clove to him as being a son of the Duke of York. His name was Richard Lifford, a gallant, generous youth, and the friend from infancy to riper years of the Duke.

When the couple parted at the door of the old Abbey, with promises of future friendship, they little suspected that their dreams would be realised so speedily. Such was the case, however. Lifford was gazetted to an Ensigncy in the first Battalion of the 52nd, then serving in the Peninsula, while Lord March shortly after left

England to join the staff of the Duke of Wellington. He joined his regiment stationed before Coimbra on September 30, 1810.

Poor Lifford was severely wounded in the attack on the wood near Redenha, and died shortly after. While lying on his sick bed, from which he was never to rise again, he grew feverishly anxious for the receipt of intelligence from home. His old friend March no sooner heard of this, than he sent a special messenger with his letters from head-quarters, and obtained leave of absence for a few hours, which he spent in comforting his dying friend.

With his last breath Lifford implored Lord March to deliver into the Duke of York's own hands his sword and sash, and the request was implicitly carried out upon his return to England.

At Westminster the Duke was not a robust boy, but what he lost in physical strength he made up for by natural courage. He was excessively popular both with masters and boys, quick in his studies, obedient to regulations, and attentive to his preceptors. For the sake of advancing his education as quickly as possible—for he had always expressed a wish to enter the army—Lord March devoted many of his leisure hours to a private tutor, to whose exertions the Duke was indebted for much of the instruction which served him in such good stead in later life.

In Dean's Yard, the Cloisters, or Tothill Fields, then the unenclosed playground, Lord March was ever ready to engage in a game of cricket or hocky, in which he was tolerably proficient. Occasionally, too, he would

take an oar in the cutter, or pull in one of Roberts' wherries up to the Red House. In the annual struggle between the town boys and king's scholars at cricket, Lord March's name appeared; and though he was neither a hard batter nor swift bowler, he managed to hold his own, simply through the attention he gave to the pursuit, which many more brilliant players did not take the trouble to do.

The great charm of his character at that period was a manly determination to protect the weak and put a stop, so far as lay in his power, to the bullying so prevalent in most schools, and at Westminster before all. At the beginning of the present century, fagging was carried on to a frightful extent, and often trenched on the hours that should have been devoted to study and the preparation of lessons; in addition to which, some cruel task-master would order his slaves to "cag" the "skies," butchers, bakers, tinkers, or chimneysweeps out of the yard, which of course always ended in a fight, and the frequent discomfiture of the fags, usually over-weighted in size and age by their opponents.

Another practice consisted in sending the fags for contraband articles, such as shrub, porksausages, muffins, redherrings, sprats, perriwinkles, bread, butter, and porter, out of bounds, in Charles-street or Tothill-street. If they were caught, they were punished by the masters; if not caught, generally rewarded for their exertions by a kick.

Lord March did all in his power to produce a reform of this system, and for his own part made it a rule never to send his fags out of bounds. He even

gave them permission to say that they were engaged for him, should any idle tyrant demand their services, and he took care that they should have full time to prepare their lessons. Unfortunately such examples were rare, and that the reader may form an idea of what a fag's life was at the beginning of the century, we will describe one day of it.

Called at seven or eight, according to the season, fag had to go to the pump in Great Dean's Yard to fetch a huge pitcher of water. If it were winter, he had his master's fire to light, the smallest amount of wood being allowed; to clean shoes, brush jacket and trousers, polish the candlesticks, and boil the water. These avocations were usually interrupted by the cry of "Carey's going in;" but after an hour's schooling, the work was resumed. Instead of the fag then enjoying his own breakfast, he had to prepare his master's. Then came school hours again; and during those devoted to play (save the mark!) the fag had to clean skates, bore holes in the soles of thick boots, run to the stationer's for ink, to Mascall's for gloves, and prepare tea by scouring the gridiron, fryingpan and kettle.

During the afternoon he had to look for lost balls at games, scout at cricket, or carry the leaping pole, shot bag and powder flask, should his master desire an hour's sport in Tothill Fields, in pursuit of a traditional snipe, or some tame ducks kept for the purpose in a pond. If his master was in a particularly liberal mood, he would reward the fag's services with the runnings of the sa-pot or the tail of his bloater.

Lord March's popularity daily increased in the school,

and his conduct was held up by Dr. Dodd, his tutor, as an example for others to follow. Many a dispute was amicably settled by him, many a subject submitted to him for arbitration, and with the spirit of fairness that characterised him through life, he ever decided to the best of his judgment. Like many public school-boys of the age, he was not very deeply read in the classics, but his assiduity was so great that he was never sent back or found deficient in the usual routine of a fashionable education.

Had the Duke, instead of being sent into the army, where few books beyond his Majesty's regulations were looked into, passed a period of his life at either of the Universities, he would in all probability have become a distinguished scholar, for he possessed great natural perception, a retentive memory, and a peculiar talent for mastering any subject he gave his mind to.

In later days, when he spoke in public, what he said was always to the point ; he took a comprehensive view of his subject, and his language was clear and forcible. Still he never ranked among the first flight in oratory ; and indeed, when we bear in mind the nature of his education, we think he deserved great credit for the energy and application he devoted to the attainment of so respectable a position as a public speaker.

On committees the Duke proved most valuable ; he sifted evidence, and discussed all extraneous matter ; he good humouredly checked any exuberant fancy on the part of counsel, and always took a common sense view of the matter, though he was slow in arriving at a decision until he felt fully convinced.

As a schoolboy, Lord March, though slow to quarrel, was always ready to resent an insult; and witnesses still remember the sound thrashing he gave an overgrown bully, who seized his hoop and threw it over the college garden wall. "Will you fight?" he asked his adversary. "With you?" the other asked with a contemptuous smile, looking down on his tiny foe. "Yes," said the youthful Earl. "Then cut hands" (the trial by wager of Westminster), "and don't let us wait for afternoon school, we'll settle it at once." Two seconds were speedily obtained, and in less than ten minutes Lord March was the victor. From that time the young Earl never again entered the pugilistic arena, although he inflicted summary punishment on any bully who wreaked his spite on the little boys.

Among the amusements of the school were hoop races, the course being from "Mother Parks'" twice round the cloisters and home. In many of these contests Lord March was the winner, though every now and then he met with a formidable opponent. Among the lads famed for activity,—and who still looks as wiry as ever,—may be mentioned the present Marquis of Anglesey, who, as a runner and jumper, could scarcely be equalled; indeed, his lordship was and is still an admirable Crichton as sparrer, cricketer, and fives player, while in after life as horseman, cricketer, and crack shot, this Ex-Hussar could hold his own with the best.

Although Lord March was heir to a princely estate, he was never guilty of extravagance at school. No temptation would induce him to run into debt, and many were offered him. The greatest amount of credit

he would demand might be perhaps for a new bat, over the holidays. For many years his name appeared on the walls of the old school, but renovations have swept away such relics, and the allusion to his lamented decease made in the prologue to the Latin play of 1860, furnishes the only public record of his connection with Westminster School. But his memory is engraved on the hearts of all those who first made his acquaintance under the shadow of the Abbey.

Westminster boys have always been famous for their propensity for acting, and a partiality for romance reading; but Lord March cared for none of these things. His studies seem to have been of a higher class than works of fiction, for we find in Larpent's private journal, how, in 1812, he borrowed two volumes of Goldsmith's works from Lord March.

In truth, although the Duke's career was so long, his numerous avocations, both public and private, prevented him devoting any time to light literature. At school he always prepared his lessons over night, and passed his hours of relaxation in manly sports; in the Peninsula his duty to his chief occupied his time fully, and throughout the war he had something else to think about besides reading.

In after life, the Duke preferred devoting his few moments of leisure to his wife and children; and these were few and far between, for he never allowed the most urgent private affairs to impede the performance of what he considered a duty to the public. His hours were always fully occupied; as landlord, breeder of race horses, and Southdowns, with two large estates to look

after, we must not be surprised that the Duke's hours slipped away only too rapidly. Let us see how a day at Goodwood might be occupied.

Upon the arrival of the morning's post there were letters to be run through and answered—the papers to read—and breakfast to be got over. Then came audiences to tenants, neighbouring farmers, labourers, and objects of charity. Then came a drive or ride to Chichester, to attend the bench of magistrates; a public meeting at the corn-exchange, or the market, followed by a stroll to the farm, the paddock, the garden, or the stables, or, mayhap, a visit to the flock, and a chat with the old steward.

Toward midday, and through the afternoon, the gentry and clergy would call to pay their respects, and possibly ask for some slight piece of patronage—a Government clerkship, or even a private secretaryship. Else, it might be a pressing solicitation to be appointed house or land steward, or even organist to the parish church, or schoolmaster to the union. More painful still it would be to refuse, when men, who did not possess the proper qualifications, requested his Grace's kind intercession to get them gazetted as deputy-lieutenants, or appointed magistrates.

But this was far from being all; shoals of applications would flock in in addition. A country manager would write asking for a bespeak, and the accompanying support; a distressed musician implore support; or some itinerant lecturer propose to give readings, with his Grace in the chair. Such things were known at Goodwood as a conjurer coolly asking leave to have a

curtain thrown across the grand hall or drawing-room, and give an entertainment in natural magic, unequalled in its way. It is impossible to do more than allude to the heaps of letters from retired butlers requesting assistance in procuring a licence, and the host of individuals, rich and poor, great and small, all anxious to assist their distant cousins, their dependents, worn-out servants, pensioners, hangers-on, and—themselves.

It often occurred that when only a family party was assembled at Goodwood, the Duke was compelled to devote the hours between dinner and tea-time to answering letters and perusing correspondence connected with the affairs of his regiment. Nor were these multifarious duties in any way diminished in London; for during three or four days of each week, the Duke was called upon to attend House of Lords' Committees, agricultural meetings, or military commissions. Then a mass of visitors must be heard, letters read and answered; after which the Duke had to attend in his place in the House of Lords, and take part in the debates. In fact, so busy was he, that he was often known to leave his house after breakfast, and not return till midnight, except perhaps for an hour, when he dined on a basin of soup and a slice of cold meat washed down by a glass of hot negus, or of whisky toddy.

We have dwelt at greater length than we intended on these schoolboy reminiscences; but, if it be true, as we are told, that the child is father to the man, they are not out of place here. We believe that they will call up pleasurable emotions in many an old West

minster boy, for there is a thorough clannish spirit among them, as they displayed recently in their opposition to the proposed removal of the school out of town. But from this point we must put away childish things, for our hero is about to learn the grim realities of war. The English nation is in many respects grand, but in none more so than in the readiness with which the noblest born of its sons joyfully engage in a career which can possess but slight charms, when compared with what they give in exchange for it. Lord March willingly sacrificed his comforts and position to serve his country in the field, and Sparta had many another son as brave as he. Say what people will of the degeneracy of races, the Crimean war proved that on this point, at any rate, the present race was not inferior to the preceding one.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTURE FOR LISBON — A SAILING TRANSPORT — VICE-ADMIRAL
BERKELEY — LORD MARCH JOINS THE STAFF — BUSACO — THE
RETREAT ON TORRES VEDRAS — THE BATTLE OF ALBUERA —
ILLNESS OF LORD MARCH — SIR C. NAPIER — STORMING OF
CIUDAD RODRIGO — LORD MARCH JOINS THE FORLORN HOPE —
SALAMANCA — RETURN TO ENGLAND.

THE warm friendship existing between Wellington and the Richmond family made him most anxious to forward the views of those sons who had selected the military profession (and out of seven, six served in the army, and one in the navy), and no sooner did he hear that the heir to the title was likely to join him, than he took the deepest interest in him. Thus, in a letter addressed to Admiral Berkeley, the Commander-in-Chief remarks, "The Duchess of Richmond tells me that she is going to send March here;" and in another letter, "I see by the newspapers that Lord March has been appointed to the 13th Light Dragoons. They are in the Alentejo, and I think it would be better that you should send him here in the first instance. I will take care of him. He might go to Thomar, from which place your son would forward him to me."

By the above, it will be seen, that when Lord March was gazetted, his object was to see regimental active service; and we believe that from the moment he became a soldier, he felt the force of the example his

great Chief had set in accepting any employment, however subordinate, to which his sovereign might appoint him.

“I am nimmuk wallah,” Sir Arthur Wellesley replied to a friend who asked him why he accepted a subordinate command after his success in India, “that is to say, I have eaten the king’s salt, and therefore conceive it my duty to serve with unhesitating zeal and cheerfulness when and wherever the king or his government may think proper to employ me.”

Had it not been for this feeling, or had the Duke of Richmond declined to act on this grand military principle, he would not have joined the army as a subaltern, or continued his valuable services to the latest period of his life as an active and energetic colonel of militia.

No sooner was Lord March gazetted, than he made all his preparations, and secured a passage in the first transport bound for the Tagus. In those days a transport was not the most agreeable of vessels; the accommodation was fearfully bad, and the rations execrable. Coarse salt junk, fat Irish pork, weevilly biscuit, dirty water, and fiery rum, were the choice stores that awaited the spoiled children of fortune; and they might consider themselves fortunate if they could seek relief in perusing an odd volume of Tom Jones, an Army List, or the Annual Register for the previous year.

At the present day, the most wonderful change has taken place, and those who had the good fortune to be conveyed to the Crimea in one of the P. and O.’s magnificent fleet, remembered the kindness every one connected with the vessel lavished on them, as the bright spot of the campaign.

It was in the summer of 1810 that Lord March took leave of his family, and embarked for Lisbon. It was a tremendous farewell, for he had to say good-bye to no less than thirteen brothers and sisters. The bustle and preparation for the first campaign, and the excitement of the journey combined to keep the young soldier's mind so entirely on the stretch, that for a while he forgot that he was about leaving home for a lengthened, perhaps indefinite, period. The order to go on board was received; there was a parting "God bless you, my boy!" and Lord March, ere long, stood on the deck of the transport 9 M. L., that was to bear him to glory.

After a tolerably successful passage for those days, Lord March reached Lisbon, where he met with a most cordial reception from Vice-Admiral Berkeley, whose wife was his aunt. But neither the pressing invitation to make their house his home, nor the gaieties of Lisbon, could induce him to remain away from his duties, and without loss of time he proceeded to the head-quarters of the army, where he was most warmly welcomed by Wellington, who immediately placed him on his personal staff.

On the very day of his arrival, July 12, our troops, under Brigadier-General Craufurd, had suffered considerable loss in an action with the French army near Almeida, and there was every prospect of other affairs which would give Lord March opportunities for flashing his maiden sword.

During the wearisome operations that took place, the 13th Light Dragoons received the honourable distinction of being told off to watch the enemy's movements. When Lord March heard of this, he almost regretted

his acceptance of the staff appointment, but was soon reconciled by one of his brother aides-de-camp telling him that ere many days were over his head Wellington would be engaged. This prediction was verified on the morning of July 27, when the French made two desperate attacks upon the English position at Busaco. The action lasted the whole day, and ended in the total repulse of the enemy, who left nearly 3000 killed and wounded on the battle-field.

As this was the first general action in which Lord March was engaged, it afforded him great satisfaction to read in the Chief's despatch to the Earl of Liverpool, dated Coimbra, September 30, that "he was particularly indebted to the officers of his personal staff for the great assistance received from them throughout the action." Wellington was on every occasion most anxious to contribute to the comfort of his "family," as he called his personal staff, and even the minutest details did not escape his notice, as will be seen from the following correspondence:—

“CELORICO, August 10, 1810.

“My dear Sir,

“I have received your letter of the 6th, and I have taken such notice in the General Orders of the letters which you inclosed, as will, I hope, prevent officers from writing such nonsense in future. I am sorry to hear that our proctor's bills are so high, but we cannot help it. I think that Lord March can do without his helmet for a little while.

“Believe, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.”

“Vice-Admiral the HON. G. BERKELEY.”

Another instance of Wellington's anxiety to afford amusement to his personal staff, will be found in the following letter, also addressed to the Admiral :—

“CARTAGO, 16 February, 1811.

“My dear Sir,

“I am very much obliged to you for your letter of the 15th instant, and the intelligence which it contains, of which I have heard some part before.

“I write to Major Berkeley, to desire him to go to Lisbon at the end of next week ; and I beg leave most sincerely to congratulate you and Lady Emily upon the occasion which takes him there. I will send March down at the same time.”

On September 29, the Allies quitted Busaco, and commenced their retreat upon Lisbon. On October 1, the British rear-guard evacuated Coimbra ; and on the 8th, the whole army was safely entrenched behind the lines of Torres Vedras. Late in October, Lord March proceeded on leave to Lisbon, where he met a relative, the gallant Charles Napier, who had been severely wounded on September 27, receiving, as he describes it, “an ugly bullet in the jaw.” He thus alludes to the visit in an eminently characteristic note, in which he proves that he thought less of his own sufferings than of his mother's feelings. The letter is so genuine that we quote it here :—

“LISBON, Nov. 1, 1810.

“ ——— Lord March has just been here, and tells me you have had your eyes done, and can see a little. Oh my beloved mother, is this blessed news true? Great

God, grant it be so! How thankful to God for this great blessing; but my anxiety is too great to write: I am afraid!"

On November 17, head-quarters removed to Cartaxo, where they remained till March 6 of the following year, when Wellington, finding that Massena had left Santarem and was retreating on Pombal, determined to follow him, with the intention of pursuing the French so hard that they would not have time to undertake anything serious against the northern provinces, or do much harm. From this day, for nearly a month, every hour was full of excitement; and the enemy was finally driven out of Portugal; Reignier alone remaining with a garrison at Almeida, out of which fort Wellington hoped to frighten him.

On May 2, the enemy's army, reinforced in Castilla, crossed the Aqueda near Ciudad Rodrigo, and Wellington, owing to his numerical inferiority, could offer no opposition to its march. The next day, the French made a desperate attack on Fuentes d'Onoro, but were repulsed: after being reinforced by Bessières, Massena renewed the attack on the 5th. The battle raged till nightfall, when the French retired a cannon shot from the stream, after a loss of 5000 men. Ere long took place the bloody fight of Albuera, which was described by Wellington as "one of the most glorious and honourable actions, to the honour of the troops, of any fought during the war." Soult fell back on Seville, and the English gradually advanced to Gallegos.

The excessive exertion Lord March had undergone,

and exposure to bad weather, combined with a far from powerful constitution, brought on several attacks of illness, and caused great alarm to the patient, who feared that if his health and strength were not restored he should be sent to England. During the whole of the period that he was unable to take his share of duty, Wellington was constant in his inquiries, as may be seen from the following passage in a letter to Admiral Berkeley: "I have not heard of March this morning, but will add a line should I receive any intelligence of him before the post goes out."

Nor was the Chief satisfied with mere inquiries, for he daily sent Colonel Colin Campbell to know whether he could be of any service, by forwarding any little luxuries his cellar or larder might contain. Indeed, the interest he took in his young aide-de-camp was so great, that he hardly knew how to act for the best: he was led to encourage him in his warlike career, but at the same time he saw from his emaciated frame, that nothing but the greatest care would prevent him being laid prostrate. With this view, he took the first opportunity of speaking to Lord March, and after expressing the high sense he entertained of him, as a useful and meritorious officer, urged him to leave head-quarters for a time, and try whether change of air and scene would produce the desired effect.

In consequence of this friendly advice, the invalid shortly after left head-quarters for Lisbon on sick leave. Napier, in a letter to his mother, thus alludes to his friend: "Lord March is well, yet requires two months of home for complete restoration, though he has had but three

fits: I have had six weeks, that is, twenty-one fits." From the pen of any other man, the above might appear illnatured toward a relation, but it was not meant thus. Napier had a constitution of iron, and could not understand the effect these constant fits produced on a weak frame.

During the absence of his aide-de-camp, the Chief was not unmindful of his welfare, for on September 2, he again addresses the Admiral in the following terms: "Have you heard anything of Lord March?" Perhaps, nothing will better show the terms of intimacy on which Wellington stood with Lord March, than the subjoined letter which he wrote the Duke of Richmond, in the midst of incessant business and cares:—

"GALLEGOS, 29th January, 1812.

"My dear Duke,

"I have not written to you lately, as I have had nothing to tell you deserving your attention.

"My troops have been remarkably unhealthy during the summer and autumn; and, although numerous, were so inferior in numbers to those the enemy had in my front, that I could do nothing more than keep them in check, and prevent them, at least, from undertaking anything against the Spaniards.

"At length, in the end of December, convinced, I believe, by the reports in our own newspapers, that we were too sickly to undertake anything, they broke up from Castile, the western parts of Estremadura, and marched off towards Valencia and Aragon, the former to assist Suchet, and the latter to endeavour to check the guerillas. I immediately pushed forward the prepara-

tions for the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; invested the place, and broke ground on the 8th, and we took it by assault, as you will have seen, on the 19th of January.

“Marmont returned upon hearing of our first movements, and collected about 50,000 men on the Tormes, about the 23rd and 24th of the month; but he has advanced only a reconnoitring party from thence, and it appears that he will not attempt to prevent us from putting the place again in a state of defence. It is already provisioned, and has been for some days in such a state as that it could not have been carried by a *coup de main*.

“I have likewise restored the works of Almeida, so that I shall have this frontier as good as it ever was; and I hope to be able to get the whole army together, when I shall have a better chance with these gentlemen.

“We proceeded at Ciudad Rodrigo on quite a new principle in sieges. The whole object of our fire was to lay open the walls. We had not one mortar; nor a howitzer, excepting to prevent the enemy from clearing the breaches, and for that purpose we had only two; and we fired upon the flanks and defences only, when we wished to get the better of them, with a view to protect those who were to storm. This shows the kind of place we had to attack, and how important it is to cover the works of a place well by a glacis. The French, however, who are supposed to know everything, could not take this place in less than forty days after it was completely invested, or than twenty-five days after breaking ground.

“ March came here about a month ago, remarkably well ; but he has had two slight attacks of fever since he arrived, from one of which he is now recovering. He is very liable to catch cold, and with the cold he always has fever. This must be a consequence of his disorder in the summer : but I hope that he will be quite well before the hot weather shall set in. If he should not be so, I shall certainly send him home. Pray remember me kindly to the Duchess and all your family, and believe me, &c.,

“ WELLINGTON.”

Lord March soon after rejoined the Commander-in-Chief, and was present at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo. He entered the breach as a volunteer, with the storming party of the 52nd, his companions being the Prince of Orange and Lord Fitzroy Somerset (the late Lord Raglan). On the following morning the Commander-in-Chief gently reproved them for venturing into a position which, being officers of the staff, they were not called upon to undertake by the customs of the service.

Gurwood tells us a good story about Lord March. He says that when he, as victor, was about to return the Governor—who was very much cast down—his sword, the Prince of Orange or Lord March plucked him by the sleeve, and the latter whispered “ Don’t be such a fool.”

An anecdote, not generally known, in connection with the siege of Rodrigo, is worthy of insertion here, and we are indebted for the account to Gurwood. On the morning of January 17, Major Napier and Lieutenant Gurwood expressed to each other their desire for an opportunity of

personal distinction, in the event of Ciudad Rodrigo standing an assault; and they decided on submitting their intentions to Colonel Colborne. After mature deliberation, a letter was addressed to Major-General Craufurd in the following terms: "In the event of Ciudad Rodrigo standing an assault, and the light division being employed in it, the following officers of the 52nd are desirous of offering their services: Major G. Napier to command the storming party; Lt. Gurwood the forlorn hope." This paper, being recommended by Colonel Colborne, was carried by them in the evening to quarters of Major-General Craufurd, to whom it was sent up; but no answer was returned.

When a party of 350 men of the light division, with the proportion of officers, were told off for the assault, it was announced that these two officers were appointed to the specific commands they had requested. It was evident that they had thus anticipated the desire of many other officers equally greedy for distinction. In the subsequent and more dangerous assaults of Badajoz, Burgos, and St. Sebastian, the senior officers of each rank claimed privilege and precedence; but, as the breaches were insulated and better defended, none unfortunately survived the storm.

After the attack on Ciudad Rodrigo, in which his relative George Napier was severely wounded, Lord March addressed the following letter to Lady Sarah Napier:—

"GALLEGOS, January 21st, 1812"

"My dear Lady Sarah,

"I am sorry to tell you that George has had his a^rt^e

amputated, in consequence of a musket shot he received at the top of the breach of Ciudad Rodrigo ; it has been done just above the elbow of the right arm. He suffers very little pain, and is in high spirits. He volunteered, leading three hundred as fine fellows as ever marched from the light division, and with them stormed the small breach. Everybody in the army admires his gallantry, and I trust they can't refuse to make him a lieutenant-colonel ; his friend, Lieutenant Gurwood, led the forlorn hope, and they were the two first up the breach. I will let you know how he is by next mail, but I am convinced it will be a favourable account. He wanted to write to you, but I told him I would. He is coming to my quarters, and I will take every care of him.

“ Believe me, dear Lady Sarah,

“ Ever yours affectionately,

“ MARCH.

“ P.S.—Pray, write to Charles that I hope George will soon be a lieutenant-colonel, as he deserves it better than any one in the army.”

After the battle of Salamanca, Lord March was warned that he might be sent to England at a moment's notice with despatches, and he passed the interval in handing over to his brother officers such articles of dress, saddlery, and camp equipage, as he could be able to replace at home, and receiving commissions to execute in London. Ere long, Lord March started for Coruña, and was soon on board one of His Majesty's ships *en route* for England.

We have entered rather fully into the operations that

took place during the period Lord March was with Wellington, in order to show that his duties were anything but light. He had been present at three battles, and two sieges; but our readers must remember, that during a campaign such as this, there are many skirmishes and affairs quite as perilous and onerous as general actions. The public, as a general rule, only look to the most important battles, estimating the gallantry of the troops by the losses they inflict on the enemy. But had a William Russell existed in those days, many names would now remain in type which are forgotten by the majority of readers. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*; and the Peninsular heroes were as well worthy of the Victoria Cross as the men now honourably invested with it.

CHAPTER IV.

WELLINGTON'S ENTRY INTO MADRID—JOY OF THE SPANIARDS—
HEAD-QUARTERS AT FRENADA—THE FOX-HOUNDS—COLONEL
WATERS—A GALLANT ESCAPE—THE FLAG OF TRUCE—THE
DUKE OF WELLINGTON IN DANGER—THE RIDE OVER A BATTLE-
FIELD—LORD MARCH JOINS HIS REGIMENT—THE BATTLE OF
ORTHEZ—HE IS SEVERELY WOUNDED—WELLINGTON'S SYMPATHY.

ON August 12, 1812, Wellington entered Madrid, where he was received with acclamations. As he himself wrote, "It is impossible to describe the joy manifested by the inhabitants of Madrid upon our arrival; and I hope that the prevalence of the same sentiments of detestation of the French yoke, and of a strong desire to secure the independence of their country, which first induced them to set the example of resistance to the usurper, will induce them again to make exertions in the cause of their country, which, being now wisely directed, will be more efficacious than those formerly made."

Gratifying as it was to Lord March, in many respects, to be sent to England at a period when there was little prospect of hostilities being renewed before the following spring, he felt a regret at being thus prevented attending his Chief upon his triumphal entry into Madrid. On Sept. 1, Wellington again quitted the capital, however, greatly to the regret of his army, who doubly enjoyed their reception owing to the privations they had recently

endured, and established his winter quarters at Frenada. He felt it impossible to recommence hostilities in that country till spring, and expressed his views as follows in a despatch to the Earl of Liverpool:—

“When one army is so inferior in numbers to another as ours is to the French army now assembled in Castile, its operations must depend in a great degree upon those of its opponent. It is impossible, therefore, for me at this period to point out what line I shall follow. The enemy having abandoned Madrid, and having given up all their communications with the north, solely with a view to collect a still larger force against us, there is no diversion which could at present effect an alteration in our relative numbers, even if I could depend upon the Spaniards to do anything. . . . Then there is another circumstance which must be attended to, and that is the situation of our own army. It has been actively employed since the beginning of last January, and requires rest. The horses of the cavalry and artillery, in particular, require both that and good food and care during the winter; and the discipline of the infantry requires to be attended to, as is usual in all armies after so long a campaign, and one of so much activity.

“I believe that the enemy require repose as much, if not more than we do; and that their immense numbers are rather embarrassing in a country already exhausted. But I am not quite certain that they do not propose to penetrate into Portugal this winter. I hope the enterprise will end fatally to them; but our troops will suffer a good deal if they are to have a winter campaign, and

if the weather should continue as severe as it has been since the 15th of this month. I believe that I have underrated rather than overrated the enemy's force. They say themselves, at Salamanca that they have 90,000 infantry and 14,000 cavalry, and their demand for provisions from the country is 140,000 rations daily."

The British army had fairly earned its rest. During the year it had taken Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca ; raised the siege of Cadiz, cleared the country south of the Tagus of the enemy, sent home 20,000 prisoners, and destroyed 300 cannon.

The vicinity of Frenada was admirably suited to satisfy the sporting tastes of the officers ; and as it was well stocked with woodcock, snipe, rabbits, and hares, there was plenty of employment for their guns. The village itself was in a terrible state of dirt and decay, containing hardly any good houses, and provisions were at famine prices. Tea was quoted at three dollars a pound ; port wine, six and sixpence a bottle ; pork, not of the best brand, twenty pence a pound ; rancid salt butter, three and sixpence ; and other articles in an equally ruinous ratio. Sadder still, the place was most unhealthy, and the deaths averaged from four to five hundred weekly.

Unable to give his officers any better occupation, Wellington kept up for them a pack of sixteen couple of foxhounds ; and although, in the absence of a regular huntsman, the hounds were overridden, and the foxes regularly mobbed to death, master and men secured their object in a healthy gallop which set fever at defiance. In addition, Sir Robert Kennedy, the Com-

missary-General, kept some greyhounds, while the Capitan Mor, the great man of the town, had a mongrel pack of a dozen or more terriers, which, under the supervision of an old poacher, and by the aid of sundry ferrets, afforded much amusement, and, moreover, supplied the regimental messes with rabbits.

Wellington was so thorough a fox-hunter, that he never allowed heat, wet, or cold, to interfere with the sport, on the three days which he devoted to the "noble science." That he encouraged every sort of sport will be seen from the following extract from a letter which he wrote the Duke of Richmond at this time. "I was at the family seat of the Villa Viçosa (the family seat of the Dukes of Braganza), some days ago, and I shot with ball ten head of deer in three days. The park in which they were is immense, and I dare say did not contain less than five thousand head, many of them red deer. This is pretty good sport."

Of course, when the Chief gave such an example, his staff wished to be well mounted, and every officer who had rich relatives, or ample means of his own, was careful to procure good hunters from England. Lord March had been very fortunate in this respect, for he had brought out with him three as clever horses as ever stepped. One, a chestnut, carried him at Busaco, and was named after that battle; it was the *beau idéal* of a charger, quiet, active, fast, and a good jumper. The others were equally up to their work, and required to be so, for their owner to be able to carry on his staff duties with satisfaction to his employer or safety to himself. As showing the value of a good horse, we

will quote the story of Colonel Waters' memorable escape.

The colonel, who belonged to the Adjutant-General's department, also held the important office of earth-stopper to the head-quarter hounds. In this capacity we fancy that Wellington valued him more than in the former, if we may judge from a passage in a letter to General Stewart. "Goodman is now doing the duty of the office, poor Waters being very ill. Goodman does the business remarkably well, but I hope we shall soon have Waters again, particularly as the hunting season is coming on apace. The hounds are on the road, and I shall want Waters for the earth-stopping business, if not for that of the A.-G. He has been very near dying, poor fellow; and what is worse, I hear he has lost all his dogs, including Sevilla."

Colonel Waters had the misfortune to be taken prisoner on April 3, 1811. He had crossed the Coa alone, and, while watching the enemy through a glass, was pounced upon by four Hussars. When Wellington heard of his capture, his reply was, "Ah, they've caught him, but they won't keep him long;" and this prophecy was fulfilled, for on the 13th of the same month the colonel made his escape and rejoined the army.

He was first conveyed to Massena, who cross-questioned him closely, but got nothing satisfactory out of him. He was offered his parole, which he declined, but was allowed to retain his charger, a famous mare of the name of Bittern. He was marched a close prisoner to Ciudad Rodrigo, and happened to be quartered at the

house of a Spaniard with whom he was acquainted, and whom he induced to get his spur-rowels quietly sharpened. Soon after this he started for Salamanca between two *gendarmes*, and when one of them stopped to tighten his girths, Waters turned his mare's head round, and dashed cross country towards a large wood, which he crossed very cleverly, and made his escape in broad day.*

Lord March returned to Spain in time for his Christmas dinner, and subsequently accompanied the Prince of Orange to Oporto, where they were received with all the honours. In a letter Wellington wrote to Sir Edward Littlehales, who held a situation with the Duke of Richmond, at that time Viceroy of Ireland, he again alludes to his aide-de-camp's health, and that of his brother, Lord George. "George has been with me lately, and he and March are in very good health." Nor did the Commander-in-Chief's interest in the family cease here, for in a letter to Colonel Torrens, he recommends another brother of Lord March for the first cornetcy that became vacant in the Horse Guards. "In the event of the promotions recommended in the enclosed letter being approved of by the Commander-in-Chief, I beg leave to submit the name of Lord William Pitt Lennox for the cornetcy in succession." As a matter of course, his Lordship, though only in his fourteenth year, was appointed, and had the good fortune to be attached to the Duke, when he was Ambassador to Louis XVIII., at Paris.

* "Sketches of Campaigning Life."

On February 23, 1813, Lord March was sent from Frenada with a flag of truce to the French. He fell in with their picquets half a league from Ledesma, where the enemy seemed in force. They were extremely polite to the young aide-de-camp, who dined with the General, and stayed with him about four or five hours. On his return, he reported to his comrades that the enemy's men and cavalry looked well, their clothing was very fair, their horses in good condition, but their accoutrements bad and dirty. He added, however, that he supposed the most favourable specimens had been shown him, as he had ascertained that the French were aware of his coming while still five leagues distant.

They drove away every Spaniard who attempted to get near him, and were especially vehement in their abuse of the *canaille* Guerillas. They abused Sumeil, the celebrated Guerillero, said he would rob even the English, and would not believe that he had dined at Lord Wellington's table.

Lord March's five Hussars and trumpeter were surrounded by eighty men, all communication was cut off, and a thousand questions were asked, though very few satisfactory answers were received. The French officer and escort of five Dragoons, who accompanied Lord March on his departure, would not go more than a mile through fear of the Guerillas, and were half inclined to accept his Lordship's offer to allow his trumpeter and men to escort them back. Upon consideration, however, the French officer determined to trust to his horse's speed; and, after courteously taking leave of his charge, galloped back to his quarters, *ventre à terre*.

On June 12, 1813, a smart affair came off with the French near Burgos, in which two of Wellington's staff nearly got into trouble. The Prince of Orange was all but captured through his horse knocking up, while the Prince was in search of another; and Lord March, mistaking a French for an English dragoon, nearly received the cut levelled at him, but which his horse's head fortunately warded off.

It was not only in action that the Duke's personal staff were efficient, for in the following July, when the cooking of Lord Wellington's dinner set the chimney on fire, and it was apprehended that it would consume the whole house, the Commander-in-Chief, surrounded by his aides-de-camp, worked like true firemen in extinguishing it.

At times, the duties that devolved on the aides-de-camp required not alone energy, but thought, tact, and quickness, as well. Let us instance one. On January 14, 1814, all was so quiet at head-quarters, St. Jean de Luz, that the Duke had gone out hunting. About mid-day, a signal was made that the French were in motion, and Lord March and Captain Gordon started immediately to find their Chief.

In England, it is not a difficult matter to ask, when thrown out, whether anyone has seen the hounds, and it is not very dangerous or troublesome to come up with them by some short cut; but to follow the Master in a foreign country, with an army on the look-out, is a very different affair, and, judging by the condition of Lord March's horse on his return, was one of hardship and peril.

Lord March had two other narrow escapes of being captured, when not under fire, in the Pyrenees. As a further instance of the risk the staff ran, we may mention an incident that occurred when the left of the British army was engaged before Bayonne, and the centre and right under the personal command of Wellington were about to effect the passage of the Gave d'Oléron. The Commander-in-Chief and his staff, while reconnoitering the movements of the enemy, ascended a hill, up the other side of which a French cavalry regiment was coming, and had it not been for the officer of Engineers and Gordon, who were in advance and gave the alarm, the whole party must have been captured. As it was, they had to gallop for their lives, and being well mounted, were soon out of reach. On this occasion Lord March was not present, for he had left Wellington's staff to join his regiment, the 52nd Light Infantry, for reasons to which we shall presently refer. On June 22nd, the day after the battle of Vittoria, in which Lord March had taken part, he was sent from head-quarters with a message to the commandant of the captured town. The ride was a most depressing one, for it took him across the battle field, and he could hear the agonising moans of the wounded and the groans of the dying. The roads were strewn with innumerable dead and maimed horses, and almost entirely blocked up with broken-down ammunition waggons, dismantled gun-carriages, and vehicles for private use, crowded with articles of luxury for King Joseph. With these were intermingled goats, milch cows, sheep, oxen, asses, and pigs, while villages and houses

were blazing, the owners reduced to misery and want, and the fugitives revenging themselves for their defeat by plundering and illtreating all who came across their path.

It is when the contest is over that the most severe trial takes place, and a solitary ride over a battle field, accompanied by the mournful reflection that so many gallant spirits had fallen in the glorious fight, might well sadden the gladdest heart. From our knowledge of the Duke of Richmond, we are enabled to state that this ride to Vittoria ever made the deepest impression upon him; and even when years had passed away, he could not think of it without a shudder, and a sigh of regret for the fallen. On June 28, Lord March was again early in the saddle to bear a message to General Graham, then at Tolosa. He returned on the following morning with the report that the town had fallen without a struggle, and that General Foy had taken up a strong position beyond it with a force of 18,000 men, but Graham was reluctant to attack him owing to the numerical inferiority of his troops.

During the battles of the Pyrenees, in which Soult, the newly appointed Lieutenant of the Emperor was so unmistakeably thrashed, Lord March narrowly escaped being hit, when close by the side of his brother aide-de-camp, the Prince of Orange, who had a horse shot under him.

Lord March was present at the assault and capture of San Sebastian, and after the battle of the Bidassoa, the despatch announcing the affair was forwarded to Earl Bathurst by Captain Lord March. After no long stay in England—for he was too thorough a soldier

to sacrifice duty to pleasure—he rejoined his Chief at St. Jean de Luz. To his deep mortification the young aide-de-camp learned that the battle of Nivelles had taken place during his absence.

Early in January, Lord March, who upon many occasions had witnessed the gallantry of his regiment, the 52nd Light Infantry, and who was anxious to obtain a practical knowledge of regimental duty in the field, left the Commander-in-Chief's staff to join the first battalion of his own regiment. This noble action, in leaving a comfortable home, parting with friends who lived together like brothers, and taking leave of a Chief, who had never uttered an angry word to him, to rough it as a captain of the line, was appreciated by all, and by none less than by Wellington himself. If ever an officer took with him the good wishes and earnest prayers for his welfare in his new and honourable career, it was Lord March, when he shook his Chief and old comrades by the hand and left headquarters.

Our readers are probably aware that Wellington was only wounded on one occasion. At Orthez, however, his Grace received a severe contusion upon his hip-bone from a spent ball, which prevented him directing in person the last movements of his army on that day, but he did not quit the field till Soult had begun to retreat.

In this engagement the Earl of March was most dangerously wounded, while leading his company of the 52nd to attack the enemy's right. On reaching the crest of the hill, he was struck in the chest by a musket

ball, which was never extracted. The wound was pronounced to be mortal, but Surgeon Hair (who from that to the latest hour of his distinguished patient's life, enjoyed his confidence) when asked by Wellington himself, what his opinion was, stated that, although the wound was severe, a gleam of hope still existed, as he had witnessed similar cases in which the sufferer had recovered.

Wellington was enabled the next morning, to get about on a pair of crutches, and his first walk was across the street to the house in which his ex-aide-de-camp lay. He hobbled into the room where Lord March was still lying in a most precarious state, and Dr. Hair who, exhausted with fatigue and anxiety, was resting on a mattrass, started up at the entrance of the Duke, and made him a sign that the sufferer was sleeping.

For a second Wellington leant against the mantel-piece, suffering from the most poignant grief. Suddenly Lord March awoke, and recognising his Chief, faintly expressed a hope that he had been successful on the previous day. "I've given them a good licking," the great man replied, "and I shall follow it up." The exhausted youth then turned to doze again; and as the Duke quitted the room, tears slowly trickled down his cheek, at the thought that he had taken a last farewell of the son of one of his dearest and oldest friends.

Youth and a good constitution, unimpaired by excesses, added to the able treatment and unremitting care of his medical attendant, pulled Lord March through, however, and he was sufficiently recovered to rejoin his Chief on the day after the battle of Tou-

We may appropriately mention here that the Duke of Richmond was an early riser, simple in his habits, and abstemious to the utmost degree. Though he lived at a period when drinking was one of the prominent vices of the aristocracy, he was never once known to be guilty of inebriety.

From Toulouse Lord March proceeded to Coa, the head-quarters of the 4th division, where he remained until his return to England.

We cannot close this chapter better than by a quotation from Napier's History of the Peninsular War, even though it bears a sting in its tail.

“At Orthez the loss of the allies was 2300, but among the wounded were Wellington, Walker, Ross, and the Duke of Richmond, then called Lord March. He had served in Wellington's personal staff during the whole war without a hurt, but being made a captain in the 52nd, like a good soldier, joined his regiment the night before the battle. He was shot through the chest a few hours afterwards, thus learning by experience the difference between the labours and dangers of staff and regimental officers, which are generally in an inverse ratio to their promotion.”

CHAPTER V.

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S PERSONAL STAFF—THE DUTIES OF AN AIDE-DE-CAMP—LORD MARCH'S PRESENCE OF MIND—BEARDING THE LION—LORD FITZROY SOMERSET—THE MARQUIS OF WORCESTER—CAPTAIN PERCY—THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—ANECDOTES—FELTON HARVEY AND HIS CORPORAL—LORD CHARLES MANNERS' ESCAPE—WELLINGTON'S UBIQUITY—HIS SENSE OF JUSTICE—SELECTION OF THE STAFF.

WE have so frequently alluded in the foregoing pages to the Duke of Wellington's personal staff, that we consider our readers will be pleased to be made better acquainted with the officers who carried out the behests of the great Chief in the Peninsula.

The "family" was composed of the late Lord Raglan, then known as Lord Fitzroy Somerset; his nephew, the late Duke of Beaufort, then Marquis of Worcester; the Earl of March, Lords George Lennox, William Russell, Charles Manners, and Clinton, the Honourable Fitzroy Stanhope, Honourable Henry Percy, Canning, Gordon, Colin Campbell, J. Fremantle, and the Prince of Orange.

The hunting field in England had made many of these gentlemen fully competent for an important branch of their duty—that of conveying orders to distant posts—a duty which, in a savage mountainous country, with an ever vigilant enemy in front, required energy, quickness, and a keen eye.

It was a matter of great surprise to the French officers, and one they could not at all comprehend, that the British Commander-in-Chief should be attended by such striplings. When the late truly noble representative of the Somersets, the Duke of Beaufort, was taken prisoner in crossing a ford, on his return from Bordeaux to Toulouse, he was presented to Soult, who could scarcely be induced to believe that so youthful a soldier could hold such a distinguished post as that of aide-de-camp to his formidable opponent, Wellington.

And yet these young soldiers did their duty in so exemplary a manner as to gain the confidence of their Chief. Sober-minded individuals, whose ideas correspond to a certain extent with those of the young Guardsman, who is reported to have said that "he could manage to rough it on beefsteaks and port wine," are apt to suppose that the duty of an aide-de-camp consists in writing notes of invitation to dinner, carving, and passing the bottle; but they would soon modify their opinion, had they opportunity for seeing what a Commander-in-Chief's aides are expected to do in the field.

It is true that they are generally better housed and fed than the rest of the officers; but they do not lie on roses either; and as the fate of a battle may depend on the speedy delivery of an order, those to whom such messages are entrusted, suffer severely from the responsibility. But let us describe in a few sentences the duty of an aide-de-camp.

Suppose him starting for a ride of some fifteen leagues, either under the burning sun, or through the pitiless

tempest, or mayhap compelled to grope his way on a pitchy night over a wild hilly tract, through forests, or across plains intersected by ravines and ditches; and, to enhance the pleasure of his position, a straggler from the enemy's ranks, a deserter from his own, camp follower, or pilfering peasant, may be on the watch to enrich himself by putting a bullet through the aide-de-camp's head.

When he has reached his destination, delivered his despatches, and devoted to rest and refreshment the half hour conceded to him by his Chief, he has to retrace his steps to head-quarters. The next morning, the note of preparation and danger rouses him from much-needed sleep—an action is anticipated. The eagle eye of the Commander-in-Chief glistens with unwonted fire, for another victory is to be won before sunset.

Soon after daylight the aide-de-camp is once more in the saddle. He is sent to the right of the line to bring up a regiment in support of another nearly overwhelmed by the enemy's superior force, or is ordered to direct the reserve cavalry to advance. He gallops over the blood-stained field, the bullets "ping" around him—shells burst over his head, round shot tear up the ground under his charger's feet, but he recks little of all this, for he has his orders to execute.

Nor is the return to the side of the Commander-in-Chief unattended with danger. Some skulking infantry or straggling Dragoons of the enemy, recognise the staff officer's uniform, and either take a deliberate aim at the aide-de-camp from behind a wall or hedge, or else wheel

round and make a dash at him. He escapes the rifle bullet, although the sound so close to his ear shows that the marksman was not very far from his aim, and then hastens to escape his mounted pursuers. The trusty steed answers to the touch, and dashes off like the wind; and though the unevenness of the ground may momentarily give the pursuers a chance, no sooner is a level plain reached, than the gallant thorough-bred leaves them far behind.

To give an instance of the promptness and fidelity with which the Earl of March carried on his duty, we will cite an anecdote, that occurs to us among many others. Upon an important occasion he was sent with an order to one of the most gallant regiments in the service, the Royal Fusiliers, who were suffering terribly from the enemy's fire. Just as he reached the battalion, he observed that some of our guns had ceased firing; passing the artillery officer, he mentioned the object of his mission, and suggested that if he would but continue to fire canister at the enemy's cavalry, the Fusiliers would be liberated from a formidable opponent.

"Enemy's cavalry?" said the artillery officer, "they belong to the German legion."

"You are wrong," the young aide-de-camp answered. "I am confident they are French. Remember, I have no orders for you to fire; but, if you ceased under the impression that they were friends, not foes, I advise you to blaze away again."

In a second the officer took the hint, and again opened the ball in a manner that compelled the French to retire. When this circumstance was reported to Lord Welling-

ton, he applauded warmly the judgment and energy of his young staff officer. To show how popular Lord March was with the Great Duke, we may also quote the following anecdote. On one occasion the present Admiral, Lord Fitzhardinge, at the time lieutenant in command of the gun-boats on the Tagus, was sent with despatches by the Admiral to the head-quarters of the army, with directions to return as speedily as possible to the fleet. On reaching the Duke's quarters, the lieutenant delivered his letters, and requested the aide-de-camp to point out to his Chief that the packet was about to sail for England, and that the slightest delay might cause him to lose the tide, which would be ruinous to his instructions, even though he was in a six-oared galley, manned by British sailors.

The Duke, however, sent out no answer, beyond an order that the lieutenant should await his pleasure, which he accordingly did, though much against the grain. At length, upon looking at his watch, Lieutenant Berkeley found that if he was not off in five minutes, his fears would be realised. On asking the aide-de-camp in waiting to jog his Grace's memory, that official declined to interfere; but seeing the blue jacket's trouble, he suggested that "March alone could do it." To this the young Earl readily consented, and braved the lion in his den; and though he brought back a snubbing answer, his interview had produced the desired effect, and Lieutenant Berkeley was enabled to leave head-quarters just in time to save the mail.

That Wellington encouraged men of rank, fortune, and station to join his ranks, may be gleaned from the

following letter, addressed to Colonel Torrens, military secretary.

“CELORICO, 4th August, 1810.

“I have never been able to understand the principle on which the claims of gentlemen of family, fortune, and influence in the country, to promotion in the army, founded on their military conduct, and character, and services, should be rejected, while the claims of others, not better founded, on military pretensions, were invariably attended to. It would be desirable, certainly, that the only claim to promotion should be military merit; but this is a degree of perfection to which the disposal of military patronage has never been, and cannot be, I believe, brought in any military establishment. The Commander-in-Chief must have friends, officers, or the staff attached to him, &c., who will press him to promote their friends and relations, all doubtless very meritorious; and no man can at all times resist these applications; but if there is to be any influence in the disposal of military patronage, in aid of military merit, can there be any in our army so legitimate as that of family connexion, fortune, and influence in the country?”

Nothing could exceed the kindness and good humour that prevailed among Lord Wellington's staff: they were truly a band of brothers, bound together to do honour to their Chief, and ever on the most affectionate terms with each other. Lord Fitzroy Somerset was a nobleman in every sense of the term, and fully bore out the eulogiums of his fellow commander, Marshal Pelissier:

“Those who knew Lord Raglan, who were acquainted

with the history of his noble life—so pure, so rich in services rendered to his country—those who witnessed his bravery on the fields of Alma and Inkerman, who remember the calm and stoical grandeur of his character, during this severe and memorable campaign—all men of heart, in fact, must deplore the loss of such a man. The sentiments which the Commander-in-Chief expresses, are those of the whole army. He himself severely feels this unfortunate blow, and the public sorrow falls more heavily upon him, as he has the additional regret of being eternally separated from a companion in arms, whose cordial spirit he loved, whose virtues he admired, and in whom he always found loyal and hearty coöperation.”

The Marquis of Worcester combined all those qualities which constitute the true English gentleman. Colonel Fremantle, who was an especial favourite with his Chief, was quick, energetic, and amusing. Gordon, killed at Waterloo, fully merited Wellington’s eulogium: “He had served me most zealously and usefully for many years, and on many trying occasions; but he now rendered himself more useful, and had never distinguished himself more than in our late actions.”

Canning, who also fell in the battle of the giants, was conspicuous for his amiable qualities and gallant bearing. Colin Campbell was a trusty, hard-working, warm-hearted Scot; ready at all times to follow his General into action, and make arrangements for his comforts in quarters. Lord March’s actions will, we trust, speak for themselves in the course of this Memoir; while his brother, Lord George, was the *beau idéal* of a Light Dragoon, devoted to his regiment, hardy in constitution.

and, moreover, as warm-hearted a friend as ever breathed.

Fitzroy Stanhope was the aide-de-camp selected to bear home the despatches announcing the marvellous successes at Oporto. Marvellous, indeed; for, within twenty-six days of the English troops leaving Portsmouth, the city had been captured, and the enemy were in full retreat. He was, as he still is, the life and soul of society, delighting all by his honourable turn of mind, and the magnificent voice with which he is endowed. William Russell possessed capacities of the highest order; while of Harry Percy it might be said—

“ I do not think a braver gentleman,
More active valiant, or more active young,
More daring or more bold, is now alive
To grace this latter age with noble deeds.”

Percy was selected to carry home the despatches from Waterloo, and was always a great favourite of the Commander-in-Chief, as will be seen by the following letter he addressed to Massena on Sept. 17, 1810:—

“ Le Capitaine Percy, au sort duquel je suis fort intéressé, a été blessé et pris, ou tué hier, près de Celorico; et je vous serai bien obligé, si vous voulez permettre qu'on donne de ses nouvelles à mon aide-de-camp, le Major Gordon: et s'il n'est pas tué, si vous voulez permettre qu'il reçoive les secours d'argent, hardes, &c., que je lui envoie.”

Nor must we pass over the Prince of Orange, who was very amiable, affable, and unaffected; and who,

although born to a throne, lived on a footing of perfect equality with his brother aides-de-camp, and entered into their jokes with the most perfect good humour, as will be judged from the following anecdotes :—

Owing to his slimness of person, the Prince had received the *sobriquet* of “Slender Billy ;” and upon one occasion, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, not being aware of his presence, asked at the dinner-table :

“What has become of Slender Billy, to-day ?”

“Here I am, Fitzroy, and shall be happy to drink a glass of wine with you.”

Another ludicrous circumstance arose from a slight baldness the Prince had, even as a young man, and which he attempted to conceal, by having his back hair carefully combed, and brought over the bald spot. One day, Fremantle, in allusion to this, remarked :

“You see, his Royal Highness makes the after-guard do main-top duty.”

“A well-stored barn requires a thatch,” the Prince promptly replied.

Fremantle, who was unaware of his presence, coloured up, and began stammering an apology, when his brother aide-de-camp set him quite at his ease by the friendly manner in which he exclaimed,

“Jack ! I’ll pay you off some day.”

Felton Harvey, of the “Fighting Fourteenth,” was another brave and honourable soldier ; and there is an anecdote connected with him that deserves record here, as reflecting the greatest credit on a non-commissioned officer of that distinguished regiment. Harvey had lost an arm while commanding the Light Dragoons in pursuit

of the enemy flying from Oporto ; and, in order to secure his own safety, should he at any time be unexpectedly surrounded by the enemy, mounted himself and his orderly upon first-rate English thoroughbreds.

On one occasion, when reconnoitring the enemy, Harvey found himself close to a cavalry picquet, whom he at first took to be English, but who turned out to be French. On discovering his mistake, he dug his spurs into his horse, and telling Pus (for such was the corporal's name) to follow him, made the best of his way at full speed to rejoin his regiment.

In the meanwhile, the picquet, anxious to capture an officer of high rank, pursued the fugitives ; and owing to the badness of the roads, and the dodging system they employed, approached them, and so closely, that escape seemed impossible. A narrow road or path was open, through which horsemen could only pass in single file. Seeing this, and fearing every moment lest his beloved colonel should be cut down or made prisoner, the brave corporal drew up right across the road, checked the progress of the infuriated Dragoons, but fell a victim to his gallantry.

Among the many hair-breadth escapes to which Wellington's staff were constantly compelled to have recourse, one of the most remarkable was an adventure that occurred to Lord Charles Manners, extra aide-de-camp to the Duke. By hard work his horse had been knocked up, and he rode to the rear, where he had posted a fresh one. On returning, he met an artillery officer, who informed him that he would find Lord Wellington on the hill immediately above them, over

which he was retreating with the troops. The artilleryman, however, advised him by no means to proceed in a direct line, as he would cross the line of fire of the French howitzers, which had just opened upon the retiring columns.

Upon hearing this, Lord Charles took a slanting direction and turned the hill, instead of going directly up it ; but, on rounding a small declivity, he came plump upon two squadrons of French *Chasseurs à cheval*. Lord Charles immediately drew up his horse from a canter to a walk, and at that pace quietly proceeded onwards. On arriving within thirty paces of the enemy, however, General Dejean, commanding the troops, accompanied by four orderlies, was in advance of them, and called out :

“ Que cherchez-vous, Monsieur ? ”

“ Milord Wellington,” the aide-de-camp promptly replied.

The General immediately pointed with his sword to Lord Charles, and the orderlies dashed forward to capture him, but he turned his horse, and, knowing the country, led them across a difficult part, and toward a wide yawning watercourse, while maintaining the direction in which he believed Wellington to be.

The four pursuers pushed on, and when within hopeful distance of clutching their victim, to their amazement they saw his horse flying in the air across the vast chasm, which, of course, became to them an impassable barrier. Alava, from the hill above, seeing the pursuit, and unaware of the confidence Lord Charles placed in his horse, sent down some Spanish guerillas,

who soon induced the baffled pursuers to return under cover of their friends, while Lord Charles quietly cantered on till he rejoined Lord Wellington.*

If further corroboration of the value of Wellington's staff were needed, we should find it in the following passage from General Von Müffling's "Aus meinem Leben."

"Wellington's Military Secretary and Quarter-master-General were tried men. His aides-de-camp and *galopins* were young men, belonging to the best families of England, who thought it an honour to devote to their country, and its greatest commander, all the energies of their will and intellect. Mounted on the finest horses of England's famous breed, they made it a point of honour, whenever the Duke added the word 'quick' to a message, to cover three German miles in an hour, or for a shorter distance, one German mile ($5\frac{3}{4}$ English) in eighteen minutes."

Constituted as Wellington's staff was, we need not feel surprised that they lived on terms of perfect harmony, and shared the dangers, duties, and privations of the campaign in a manner that reflected the highest credit upon them. In fact, their only ambition was to eclipse one another in activity, zeal, and enterprise; and, in order to effect that, it was necessary that they should be well mounted, and by personal inspection convince themselves that their chargers were properly looked after.

* "Leaves from the Diary of an Officer of the Guards," by Colonel Cowell Stepney.

In active service this is no easy task, for the aide-de-camp has in the first place to find a groom free from the besetting sin of soldiers and camp followers, and honest enough not to deprive the dumb animals of their fair share of provender, in order to barter it for aguar-diente or other spirituous liquors. Moreover, the horses themselves, under the most favourable circumstances, always require the master's eye, for there are thorns to be extracted, legs to be bandaged, saddlery to be kept in repair, pistols to be cleaned, and a thousand other minutiae on which the very life of the officer depends.

No one knew the value of a good horse better than did Wellington, and had he not been well mounted, he could not have effected what he did. He thought nothing of riding fifteen or twenty miles out and home, up and down hill, over morasses, through clayey soil, across swampy plains, up to his horse's girths in mud. A remarkable anecdote of this nature is told by one of his historians in the following way:

“The most striking instance of Wellington's ubiquity—if the term may be not unfairly used—was a nocturnal visit to Pampeluna. The commander of the investing force required his advice and assistance. Wellington was asleep when the messenger reached him, and the aide-de-camp on duty declined to awake him. The matter was urgent, the officer importunate, and at length Lord Wellington was aroused. He heard the message, and with the simple words, “Go back to your regiment, sir,” turned again to sleep. The repose was but momentary. As the officer in melancholy mood wended his way along the mountain paths, his hack

jaded, himself half slumbering in the saddle, a horseman passed him at full gallop. He could not distinguish him in the darkness of the night, but the wildest flight of fancy could not have suggested that the horseman was Wellington. The next morning, however, the Marquis was met returning from Pampe-luna, having given all the necessary instructions for the vigorous prosecution of the blockade."

As a further instance of Wellington's attachment to his personal staff, we may be permitted to quote an extract from a letter addressed to Lord Bathurst :

"LESACO, 4th August, 1813.

"I feel a great regard for Fremantle, on his own, as well as his father's account ; but I should be sorry if any irregularity were committed in promoting him, only because I feel a regard for him.

"Lord Clinton obtained two steps of promotion on taking home the account of the battle of Salamanca, as, I believe, not because he took home the account of a great victory, but because he had been promised promotion, and was on the point of being, if not actually, promoted, before he arrived ; and then the second step of promotion was given to him.

"I should be delighted and obliged by any favour done by his Royal Highness to Fremantle, but I acknowledge that if I were in his Royal Highness's situation, I would not depart from the old rule of one step of promotion for the officer who bears the tidings of a victory on any account. If that rule should be once departed from, there will always be a question

whether a victory is deserving one or two steps of promotion to the bearer of the news, which might be awkward.

“I hope that success will not be wanting to enable me to send Fremantle home again with the intelligence, to obtain for him the other step of promotion; and if it should, I rely upon his Royal Highness’s goodness to promote him, when a fair opportunity shall offer.”

A fair opportunity did occur, and Major Fremantle was shortly after sent home with despatches announcing Wellington’s brilliant victory at Orthez. Again, the Commander-in-Chief is found writing to Lord Bathurst:

“I shall be very much obliged to you if you will recommend that Major Canning, my aide-de-camp, may be promoted, and may receive the usual warrant for carrying home the despatches which I have sent by the Prince of Orange. I should have sent Major Canning, if I had not sent the Prince.”

To Admiral Berkeley we find him writing in support of the principle to which he always remained staunch:

“STA. MARINHA, 25th March, 1811.

“I should be very happy to forward your wishes for your son, who has, in my opinion, every claim for promotion. I am afraid, however, I could not send him home with despatches written by me, which could give the bearer of them a claim to promotion, as he is not

in my family, and it is the invariable practice of the army to send despatches of that description by an aide-de-camp."

In a letter to Colonel Torrens, dated "Camp at Badajoz, 8th April, 1812," he thus recommends Lord Fitzroy Somerset for the rank of lieutenant-colonel:—"I have more than one claim for promotion for my aides-de-camp, as I have not availed myself of all the opportunities of which I might have availed myself to send them to England with accounts of important events."

In another letter to the Earl of Liverpool, he thus alludes to the Prince of Orange:—

"FUENTE GUINALDO, 10th June, 1812.

"I wish to know from your Lordship whether it would be possible to give the medal to the Prince of Orange. He has been in the action of El Bodon, and in the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz; and although he is not exactly in the situation which would entitle him to it, he has the rank, and certainly deserves it, and would be highly flattered at obtaining it. I shall be much obliged to your Lordship if you will let me know if it can be given to him."

Again, to Colonel Torrens, dated Cuellar, 3rd August, 1812, while expressing his thanks in the following terms, he adds:—"I am much obliged to you for what has been done for March and Lord Charles Manners."

The applications to be appointed to the personal staff of Wellington were so numerous, that had he attended to one-tenth of them, his family would have increased to fifty times the amount permitted him. Indeed, some of the requests were so pressing and indelicate, that he felt himself compelled to protest against them, as may be gleaned from the following letter, addressed to Lord Bathurst :

“TOURNAY, March, 1814.

“My dear Lord,

“I have received your Lordship’s letter of the 9th regarding the —— ambassador’s brother. As the aides-de-camp to general British officers live with them, it is not very usual to ask a general officer to take a person as his aide-de-camp. The same practice does not prevail in the Spanish service ; and for this reason I have been very urgently pressed before to appoint —— to be my aide-de-camp. I am acquainted with him, and have no objection to him, excepting that he is a person of a very indifferent military reputation ; and, although I feel every inclination to gratify the ——, I do not think I ought to take a Spanish officer as my aide-de-camp, whose reputation was considered too bad to associate with the aides-de-camp of General —— . To his last application, in support of which he sent, among others, a letter from your Lordship, I answered through a common friend, that if he would join his regiment, and do his duty for so long, and under such circumstances as that his reputation as an officer would be thought well of in the army, I would afterwards appoint him my aide-de-camp, otherwise I would not. Instead of join-

ing his regiment, I understand that he went to see his brother at Cordova. Under these circumstances, it cannot be expected that I should appoint him to any situation on the staff, particularly not about me."

It was by protests of such a nature as this that Wellington endeared himself to his "family;" for he proved to them, that not only gentlemanly conduct, but also military merits were essential requisites to occupy so honourable and distinguished a post as an appointment on his personal staff.

One of the brightest of the many bright traits in Wellington's character, was the affection he constantly felt for the men who had served on his personal staff during the Peninsular campaign. It was through this feeling that, when he resumed in 1842 the office of Commander-in-Chief of the Army, he appointed the present Duke of Richmond to be one of his aides-de-camp—a compliment highly gratifying to the feelings of his father. The son of another highly esteemed nobleman, the late Duke of Beaufort, also a member of the "family," had the gratification of seeing his son, the present head of the Somerset family, installed in a situation which he had himself held in former years.

CHAPTER VI.

LORD MARCH RETIRES FROM THE SERVICE—HIS MARRIAGE—HIS RESIDENCE AT MOLECOMB—SUCCEEDS TO THE TITLE—RESPECT PAID HIS FATHER'S MEMOBY—THE EXAMPLE IMITATED—THE DUKE AS A SPORTSMAN—SHOOTING AT GOODWOOD—SOUTH DOWN SHEEP—SUCCESSFUL SHEEP BREEDERS—THE DUKE AS A COUNTY MAGISTRATE—THE D'AUBIGNY ESTATES—A FAMILY FESTIVAL—THE DUKE AND HIS CHILDREN—THE LENNOXES IN THE CRIMEA.

WITH the signature of the general peace, Lord March retired from active service, and acting upon Dr. Johnson's axiom, that "matrimony has many pains, but celibacy no pleasures," in April, 1816, he married Lady Caroline Paget, eldest daughter of the Marquis of Anglesey. The union was a fortunate one in every respect; for the Countess of March possessed every quality that could grace the female character, added to a beauty that could find no compeer. As a tender and devoted mother, as an affectionate wife, and as a kind-hearted and generous friend, her Grace has ever shone forth pre-eminently great. It has been said by one who has enjoyed the privilege of her acquaintance, that "the vanities of worldly pleasures rankled not at her heart: the remembrance of her departed husband, her home, her children, her grand-children, engross her whole attention." Of her Grace we may say, in the words of Shakspeare—

“ Why, if the Gods should play some heavenly match,
And on the wager lay two earthly women,
And (Richmond) one, there must be something else
Pawned with the other : for the poor rude world
Hath not her fellow.”

During his father's lifetime, Lord March occupied Molecomb, a very beautiful villa situated at the head of a highly cultivated valley, within a few minutes' walk of Goodwood House. Backed by the South Downs, with a gentle acclivity on either side, the woods above clothed with luxurious evergreens and stately oaks, the park studded with chestnut, beech, and lime trees, with here and there a splendid specimen of the Lebanon cedar, a prettily laid-out garden, with a distant view of the glistening sea—all these combined attractions form one of those picturesque and tranquil spots so dear to the heart of the painter or the poet.

Through a feeling of respect for his revered parent's memory, and a high sense of honour, that reflected the greatest credit on the young heir when he succeeded to his title, Goodwood House remained closed for a season, during which the estate was cleared of its burthens. When this was effected, the Duke was enabled to reopen the family mansion with all its former hospitality, which was uninterruptedly maintained until his decease. The present Duke has followed the good example set him by his father; though the estate is unincumbered, the house will remain closed for a period, through a feeling of respect to the memory of the departed.

In early life the Duke was excessively fond of

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hunting, and although his native county is too much intersected by downs and forest to offer any great sport to the lover of the "noble science," his Grace was satisfied with what he found, and was constantly out with Lord Egremont's hounds. As he was a light weight, had a quick eye and strong nerve, and was capitally mounted on a sturdy compact hunter, the Duke was difficult to beat across the open, and had he continued the pursuit, he might with time have become a good rider to hounds.

Unfortunately, while galloping one day down one of the steep hills near Goodwood, his horse fell, and treading on its master's chest, injured him very severely. Surgical advice was immediately summoned from London, and his Grace remained in imminent danger for some days; it was generally supposed that the bullet he received at Orthez shifted through the fall, but at any rate, he was advised to give up hunting, which advice he reluctantly followed.

Shooting was a popular pastime with the Duke, and he was a very fair shot. It was his delight to have his old friends and comrades down from London to enjoy a good day's old-fashioned sport among the partridges, pheasants, and hares. To the last the Duke set his face against the unsportsmanlike system of modern battues.

The late Duke of Wellington, Lord Raglan, Sir Charles Rowan, and other comrades in arms enjoyed many a walk with him across the stubble in the Home Park, by the laurels near the kitchen-garden, and in the glades of the Valdoe, a favourite wood near Goodwood,

whence, after enjoying a pleasant morning's sport, they would adjourn to the house, and discuss past scenes of danger shared in common, where the fire had been very different from that of their morning's amusement.

The Duke was always devoted to agriculture, and took the deepest interest in his farms, cattle, stock, and sheep. A flock of Southdowns has been kept up at Goodwood for upwards of a century, and the third Duke, and the subject of this Memoir, were both famed for the attention they devoted to the breed. In the year 1825, the late Duke turned his mind more particularly to the improvement of the flock, and with this view spared no expense in procuring the best animals purchasable. From 1830 up to July, 1858, sheep selected from this flock gained eight gold and thirty-one silver medals at the Smithfield prize cattle shows. Since 1840, they gained seventeen prizes at the meetings of the Royal Agricultural Society; and since 1847, the same number of prizes at the Sussex County shows.

The sheep that gained the above prizes were not only bred at Goodwood, but were also nearly all descended from sheep bred there. The flock for some years past has averaged 2000 head, exclusive of a thousand lambs annually bred. A large proportion are drafted every year, and sold for breeding purposes; they are eagerly bought up not only by English, but also by French, Prussian, Russian, and American breeders.

The late Duke took the greatest pride in his flock, and some years ago parted with his deer, in order to supply increased accommodation for the Southdowns in Halnaker Park. Sussex is very well adapted for these

animals, unquestionably the best working flock we possess ; they feed readily on elevated situations, and on the natural pastures and heath of open lands, while for folding they are unrivalled.

While praising the Duke's flock, however, we must not omit mentioning the names of those to whom this country is indebted for encouraging the breed of these first-rate sheep, and among the foremost we must record the late practical, honest-hearted Mr. Ellman, and his successors at Glynde ; the late highly respected Mr. Grantham, Mr. Jonas Webbe, who has been a breeder for more than thirty-six years, and who from 1840 to 1856, the year of the Great National Exhibition at Paris, has generally been included among the successful candidates.

The Duke always evinced great interest in the West Hampnett Union, open to receive the poor of thirty-seven parishes, and was regular in his attendance there. It was a pleasing sight to see him by the side of some sick or dying inmate, administering all the comfort in his power, spiritual as well as temporal. It was equally gratifying to witness the interest he felt in the children, whom the improvidence of their parents had brought into this refuge ; and it was satisfactory to know, that under his Grace's watchful care, no ill-treatment of the occupants could be possible, or any exertions neglected that would make them as comfortable as they could hope to be under the circumstances.

Few persons visited Goodwood without inspecting this establishment, which was a model for the rest of England, and on such occasions the Duke was fond of

testing the aptitude of the school boys and girls, by asking them unhackneyed questions to test their knowledge of the Scriptures. The consequence of this custom was that the teachers gradually grew into a very different system of education from that obtaining in ordinary schools, and it bore the best fruit.

During the year 1833 a claim was made upon the Duke of Richmond respecting the Aubigny property, and his Grace went abroad to take Counsel's opinion on the subject. The following extract from the life of General Sir Charles Napier, will furnish an accurate notion of the affair:—

“Meanwhile Charles Napier remained at Caen, but not in quiet, being obliged to direct part of a family lawsuit, conducted principally by his cousin Mr. Charles Beauclerk against the Duke of Richmond, for the French estate of D'Aubigny. This seignory, granted by Louis XIV. to the Duchess of Portsmouth, had descended of right to the Dukes of Richmond as Dukes of D'Aubigny, until the French revolution swept away that title, and changed the law of succession. Overlooked at the peace, this was now remembered by the collateral descendant of the third Duke, and a lawsuit resulted with the usual concomitants; for although, thanks to Napoleon's code, the delays were not inordinate, there was chicane, and greedy and negligent lawyers; Louis Phillippe also exacted the personal claims of the sovereign to share in the spoil with miserly avidity; and when the decision in favour of the claimants was made, the Duke lost a great deal, and his opponents gained very little.”

A few days afterwards Napier adds in another letter:—"Beauclerk is very angry with the Duke for going to Sancerre and calling on the judges; but I am never angry with a man for fighting his battle as he can."

As the time approached when his Grace's son, the Earl of March, attained his majority, great preparations were made to do honour to the occasion, and a large number of the Duke's family friends and tenants were invited to attend the happy event. It was celebrated in February 27, 1839, with the greatest and most widely spread hospitality, for the Head of the House of Lennox was anxious that the heir, to not only his ducal possessions but his unsullied name, should be publicly presented to the persons with whom, in the ordinary course of events, he would become more intimately connected.

No one felt more fully than the late Duke the duties attaching to a high and honourable position; he knew that from those to whom much is given much is expected in return, and that if riches and honour come of our Divine Creator, they should be employed, either directly in exalting His name, or indirectly in benefiting His creatures for His sake.

It was under the influence of these feelings that the Duke was desirous of distinguishing a day so interesting to himself and to all who were dear to him, as that on which his eldest son attained his majority. A stag hunt commenced the festivities, for the Duke, though he no longer took part in the sport, ever supported the manly pursuits of his ancestors; a lawn meeting took place in front of the house, when the deer was uncarted and

afforded great amusement to the innumerable horsemen collected.

In the Tennis Court, which was decorated with flags, banners, evergreens and flowers, a dinner was prepared, to which three hundred gentlemen sat down under the presidency of his Grace's brother, Lord George, who was at that period Member for the western division of Sussex. During the entertainment, the Duke and Lord March entered the court, and were received with a hearty cheer, such as Englishmen alone can give—a spontaneous welcome to those whom they loved and venerated.

After addressing the assembled party, the Duke and the Earl returned to the house to do the honours to the relatives and friends assembled there. It was a grateful sight to witness a large and united family gathered together for the common object of paying the tribute of their affectionate respect to the youthful heir of the hospitable mansion that welcomed them.

Among those who felt the greatest interest in the ceremony was the Duchess Dowager of Richmond, daughter of the Ducal House of Gordon, by whose side could be noticed the manly form of the Marquis of Anglesey, the model of a noble and chivalrous soldier. Here too could be seen the youthful scions of the Richmond family, five lovely daughters, radiant in youth and smiles; of whom only three now remain; the kind-hearted ill-fated Fitzroy, and his brothers Henry, Alexander, and George.

After dinner the veteran hero of the Sahagun, and father of the Duchess, proposed the health of his grand-

son, and all the hearers applauded heartily when the noble Paget referred, with exquisite feeling and taste, to the days of his youth and manhood. Alas, how few now remain of the company collected on that auspicious day ! The speaker so heartily applauded has passed away, so too have the Statesman Bathurst and his amiable wife—the venerated Bishop Otter—Lord Northampton, the Mæcenas of the arts—the head of the Villiers family—the good-humoured Master of the Quorn, Lord Suffield—the old 52nd hero, Rowan—George Bentinck, the rising statesman ;—but we will not chronicle the list further, for we do not wish to throw a cloud over our description of a celebration which will be long remembered in the county annals.

As night set in, the lodges of the Park were illuminated, and a nightly bonfire on the summit of St. Roche's hill shed its light for miles over the country. A ball and supper, at which nearly seven hundred of the county nobility and gentry were present, wound up the evening's entertainments. But the rejoicings did not terminate here ; for the Duke also gave a grand dinner to all his tenants and their friends in the new ball-room, and on the following Saturday seven hundred children of the Boxgrove school, and West Hampnett Union, were regaled in the Park, while a liberal donation had previously been given to every person employed on the estates.

The Duke of Richmond, in domestic life, truly realised the character of the Christian parent. He possessed a singleness of purpose and a depth of affection which made home perfectly happy to his children and their

well-beloved mother. His children were brought up to look upon their father as their most sincere and loving friend, as a man who, without sacrificing his moral influence as a parent, led them by kindness along the path of duty. No wonder, therefore, that home and children were happy ; their merry, light-hearted laugh was never checked, their childish sports were never interrupted, and if they ceased in the innocent game upon their father's entrance, it was to welcome him with that outpouring of the heart, which children alone possess.

At such times, though the Duke might be nearly worn out with a fatiguing morning's business on the Bench, at the Union, in the House of Lords, upon a committee, or any other worry of that nature, he would always enter into their pastimes, take part in a game of romps, recount the adventures of Robinson Crusoe, teach the lads the manual and platoon exercise, or collect them in an awe-stricken group around him, as he read out the exploits of Grey, Earl of Warwick, or the sad story of Fair Rosamond.

As the boys grew older, the Duke encouraged them in the manly exercises of hunting, coursing, and cricket playing ; and we have often seen his Grace taking part in a favourite match on the lawn, and displaying as much interest in it as one of the "old stagers" may do at Canterbury, during the dramatic and cricketing week.

Three of the Duke's four sons selected the army as their profession, in which their father had gained his laurels ; but the piping times of peace do not possess any great charm for the soldier ; and upon the breaking out of the Crimean war, all had long since quitted

the service. Still the family, at the head of which the Duke stood, sent its quota to the field in the persons of his nephews,—Augustus Lennox, Royal Artillery ; Wilbraham Lennox, who gained the splendid guerdon of the Victoria Cross “for his cool and gallant conduct in establishing a lodgment in Tregon’s Rifle-pit, and assisting to repel the assaults of the enemy,” which brilliant operation drew forth a general order from General Canrobert ; and Maitland Lennox, Royal Marines. These three officers were the sons of Lord George Lennox, who himself served throughout the Peninsular campaign, and was present at the battle of Waterloo.

Other members of the family were Colonel Maitland, of the Guards, and Horatio Maitland, R.N., sons of the good and brave Sir Peregrine, and both severely wounded ; Augustus Fitzroy, R.A., killed before Sevastopol, a son of the late Sir Charles Fitzroy ; and the Duke’s son-in-law, H. S. H. Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar, Grenadier Guards, who served throughout the Crimean war, and was wounded in the trenches.

CHAPTER VII.

THE DUKE'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS—LORD FITZROY LENNOX—HIS MELANCHOLY LOSS—HOPES AND FEARS—THE DUKE IN SOCIETY—HIS FONDNESS FOR AGRICULTURE — CONNECTION WITH THE TURF—TREATMENT OF HIS REGIMENT.

THE Duke of Richmond was a staunch and consistent supporter of Church and State, and with him precept and practice went hand in hand. Firmly attached to the Protestant religion, he set a pious example to all around him; he regularly attended church, and made it a habit, both at Goodwood House and Gordon Castle, to read morning prayers to his family, visitors, and household. At the same time, however, he held all cant and hypocrisy in utter detestation: he made no Pharisaical boast of spiritual self-pride, nor was he ascetic in his ideas with reference to the observance of the Sabbath day.

While feeling that Sunday was not only a day of rest from bodily toil, a cessation from the daily round of secular affairs, the Duke also considered it one upon which a marked distinction should be made in the choice of the ordinary employment. No thought of gain, no dream of idle folly, no unsanctified pleasures, should be allowed to mar that devotional feeling which ought to fill the heart of every Christian.

Still, as we said, the Duke was not strait-laced;

he was the first to encourage innocent recreation, especially among the humbler classes ; but in no instance did he ever sanction, either by deed or word, the relaxation of Sabbath observances, loosen the force of its enactments, or neglect the solemn duties of that day.

We feel assured that the Duke's unaffected piety must have offered him a great solace, when he was so sorely chastened by the loss of his well-beloved son, Lord Fitzroy Lennox. Following in his father's footsteps, the young soldier had joined the 43rd Light Infantry, and had been doing duty with his regiment in Canada. Having learned his duties as an officer in this excellent school, Lord Fitzroy obtained leave to exchange into the 13th Light Dragoons, of which we have made honourable mention in our notice of the Peninsular war.

Full of life, spirits, and energy, radiant in youth, beaming in health, and revelling in the thought of the happiness that would attend his return to home and friends, Lord Fitzroy took leave of his comrades and proceeded to New York, where he was to embark for England. While here, he met with that distinguished actor, and high-minded gentleman, the late Tyrone Power, and, anxious to enjoy his society, took passage on board the ill-fated *President*.

The result is familiar to our readers. On March 11, 1841, the tall ship sailed from New York with one hundred and twenty-three passengers. On the following day, a terrible tempest burst forth, which raged for two days and three nights : when the *President* was

last seen, she was manfully battling against the wind and waves. Whether, as is generally supposed, the steamer foundered, or "broke her back" while beating between Nantucket Shoals and George's Bank, is a secret the sea has never revealed. Nothing more has ever been heard of the doomed bark and its numerous inmates.

What rendered the trial more severe to Lord Fitzroy's bereaved parents, was the lengthened uncertainty that prevailed as to the fate of the vessel; they continued to hope against hope, and each day brought some fresh glimmer, which was too speedily quenched in disappointment. On more than one occasion, letters and messages were sent to Goodwood, to inform the parents that tidings had been received of the ship, and that she was hourly expected. Indeed, the writer of these pages himself heard from an ex-member for Brighton that information had been received from Liverpool, that the vessel had actually arrived at that port. The writer inquired, fortunately, before sending a despatch to Goodwood, and found, as usual, that it was a mere rumour.

In order to prevent any further pangs to the Duchess, who was prostrated by grief at the loss of a beloved son, the Duke gave orders that all messages or letters should be first brought to him, that he might test their value. Day after day the agonised parent might be seen lingering near the garden gate that offered a prospect of all who approached the house, in the hope of being able to communicate some intelligence to gladden the hearts of his devoted partner and his anxious sons

and daughters, and remove the heart-withering grief that crushed them.

It was painful to watch the careworn countenance, the distraught look, and the agonised sighs of this brave heart, which had never quailed in the darkest hours of danger, but now slowly sank beneath the weight of sorrow—sorrow not alone caused by the loss of his son, but by the helpless, hopeless misery of one even dearer to him than life itself.

Months passed by, but no tidings reached the mourners, and although time to a certain extent mitigated their grief, to the latest hour the Duke felt most deeply the untimely fall of a son, whose early days gave promise of an honourable and manly career. Nor was the grief confined to the family, for Lord Fitzroy was popular with all who enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance. Manly in form, high-minded, and personally attached to the hardy sports of old England, and devoted to the service of which he promised to be an ornament, a brilliant career seemed to be within his grasp, when he found a grave in the wild surge of the Atlantic.

We have already remarked, that the Duke was not Sabbatarian in his views, and in confirmation of that remark, we cannot do better than quote a passage from a speech he made on a certain occasion, when the Bishop of Hereford introduced a clause by way of amendment to the third reading of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Railway, by which he proposed to restrict the use of locomotives to six days in the week. The Duke of Richmond in reply observed:—

“The clause, if adopted, would not prevent Sunday

travelling; it would only cause horses to be substituted for locomotive engines on that day. If the bill were passed, a great benefit would be conferred on the inhabitants of Newcastle; it was better for them to take a trip on the railway, than to pass their time in beer-shops on Sundays. He agreed with the noble Lord (Roden) in thinking that the higher classes ought to set an example of observing the Sabbath; and he objected to a clause which prevented the labouring man from riding on a railway, while a noble lord might drive along the turnpike road with four post-horses. Was it a greater breach of the Sabbath to ride on the railway, than to go down the Tyne in a steamboat? The House would do well, if it legislated at all on the subject, to pass laws which would equally affect the rich and poor."

In social life, the Duke was most agreeable; he could converse, and to the point, upon most topics; his anecdotes of the war in the Peninsula and Belgium—of the comrades with whom he associated during that memorable period—of his Chief, the Beau, as Wellington was familiarly called—of the gallant Fitzroy Somerset—of the Duke's German orderly, whose opinion as to whether an engagement was likely to take place, was generally quoted as correct—of his brother staff officers, and those of the gallant 52nd, the Napiers, Lord Seaton, and Rowan—were most interesting and amusing.

Nor was the Duke less happy in his remarks, when the subject of agriculture was discussed; he was acquainted both practically and theoretically with the whole system of draining, manuring, planting, and cultivating the land; he could discourse on sheep, the

native breeds, such as the Dorset, Exmoor, Norfolk, Wiltshire, Welsh, Yorkshire, Scotch, &c., many of which have long ceased to exist, and on the modern improved flocks—the Southdowns, Leicester, long-woolled, Shropshire, and Cheviot.

Although a staunch partisan of his own county breed, the Duke was not indifferent to the merits of others, and could fully appreciate the value of the sheep of Leicestershire, the long-woolled lowland sheep of Lincolnshire and the Cotswold Hills, the breed of which has been greatly improved within the last sixty-four years, at which date a society was formed in Lincoln, to remodel the old sort of genuine long-wools, and when the Gloucestershire farmers introduced the Leicester blood into the original Cotswolds, retaining however their characteristics of size, fleece, and lean meat. He could enter into an argument upon the respective merits of the cows, heifers, heifer-calves, bulls, bull-calves; he could recount how, at the late Mr. C. Collings's sale of short-horned cattle in 1810, the amount realised 7115*l.* 17*s.*, averaging 151*l.* 8*s.* and a fraction each; he could speak of the old Teeswater, Chilton, Wiseton, Kirkleavington, and Tortworth herds (the latter of which in 1853 averaged at the sale 151*l.* each); and of the successful breeders of the present day, among whom may be mentioned, Mr. Booth of Wadaby, Colonel Townley, Messrs. Fawkes of Farnley Hill, Torr of Aylesby, than whom a finer specimen of the British farmer does not exist, Ambler, Bolden, Barrowby, Carr, Douglas, Lord Feversham, Grundy, Viscount Hill, Majoribank, Maynard,

St. Tatton, Sir C. Tempest. He could dilate upon that splendid race of cattle, the Herefords; of that important breed, the Devons, whose aptitude to fatten is unrivalled; of the Alderney, Ayrshire, polled Norfolk, polled Angus, Welsh, West Highland, Galloway, and Brahmin breeds. He could enter into the merits of boars, sows, and pigs, from the old Lancashire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire pens, up to Fisher Hobbs's "black beauties," Mr. Barker's large sows, Mr. Crisp's small sows, and the splendid pens that are to be found belonging to the Prince Consort, Lord Radnor, Colonels Pennant and Towneley, Messrs. Wiley, J. Harrison, Harold Littledale, J. Gill, Richardson, Wilkinson, and other successful breeders of the day.

Upon the state of the nation, or the aspect of affairs at home and abroad, the Duke always expressed a healthy opinion; he never entered into any warm political argument, and hence men of all shades could meet at his hospitable table, with no fear of any stormy debate arising. If the turf were discussed, he could, although not very deeply versed in its history and mystery, describe how his first essay on a race-course was made at Brussels, while aide-de-camp to the Prince of Orange, just prior to the battle of Waterloo. His second trial was in 1817, when he won at Goodwood a match for 50*l.*, with his chestnut colt *Hermes*, beating Lord Apsley's bay gelding. In 1818, '19, '20, and '21, upon the same course, *Roncesvalles* won five sweepstakes and a match, and in 1827 he won the Goodwood Cup and seven other races. But we purpose devoting a separate chapter to his Grace's turf exploits.

About hunting and shooting the Duke could converse practically. He was never a fisherman, though he might have become so, had his youth been spent on the banks of the Spey—the fishery of which exquisite river came into his possession with the rest of the Gordon property—instead of the downs of Sussex. The Duke, however, took great pride in the fishery, which was for many years let to an enterprising gentleman; but when free trade depreciated the value of the salmon, the Duke took the river into his own hands, and having purchased some fast-sailing vessels, employed them in conveying the king of fresh-water fish to the London market. It was very amusing to hear the Duke describe the profit he derived from his trading.

In later years the militia occupied a great portion of the Duke of Richmond's time, and he was never weary of attending to the discipline of his regiment, the Royal Sussex Light Infantry, which, through the unremitting exertions of his brother, Lord Arthur, who had commanded two crack regiments, the 68th and 71st, and the example set by the noble Colonel, had reached a splendid state of discipline.

So devoted was the Duke to his regiment, that when it was quartered at Brighton a few years ago, he left a Christmas party at Goodwood, in order to dine with his brother officers at mess. Unfortunately, none of them were cognizant of the intended honour, and the orderly officer, a friend, and the Duke, formed the regimental trio. When doing duty with the Royal Sussex Militia, whether at Aldershot, Brighton, Dover, Edinburgh, or Glasgow, the Duke entered into every detail of duty:

he was generally the first in the orderly room, was always ready for parade, attentive to field and barrack duties, and constant in his attendance at mess. He also promoted every sort of rational amusement among the officers, for he knew that they might otherwise be driven to drinking, gaming, or some other form of dissipation; and he was always ready to encourage by his presence, and by sharing the expenses, *Thés dansantes* in the barracks, or concerts and theatrical performances in the towns.

The Duke had a very happy manner with those under his command; he was courteous, kind, but firm to the officers; impartial to the non-commissioned officers, and good-humoured, though strict, with the men. It was most pleasing to hear him address his "lads," as he called them, when encouraging them for good conduct, or warning them for bad behaviour, and it was edifying to listen to his comments when they failed in their duty as good soldiers or respectable citizens.

One of the greatest trials to the colonel of a militia regiment is when he is called upon to hand over to the line a large portion of his men. After months of hard labour, zeal, and attention, a parade is ordered, and the men are invited to volunteer into the regular army. As a matter of course, the healthiest pass the surgeon, while others are rejected as unfit for active service; the volunteers are told off to the regiment they have selected, and the following parade displays awful gaps in the ranks of the militia regiment.

Then comes the whole trouble over again: the drilling and the discipline; and yet, in spite of all the

annoyances connected with the volunteering system, many, indeed almost every one of the commanding officers, responded to the call made upon them by the Horse Guards, but not one with greater alacrity and zeal for the service than the Duke of Richmond.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DUKE'S POLITICAL CAREER—DEATH OF GEORGE III.—AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS — QUEEN CAROLINE — TEMPER OF THE NATION — THE QUEEN'S TRIAL—THE DUKE'S PROTEST—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION —THE WOOL TRADE—THE TWO DUKES.

HITHERTO we have chiefly dealt with the subject of our Memoir in his private life. We have shown that he was a first-rate soldier in his youth, an exemplary husband and father in middle life, but we have now to describe his political career. The Duke of Richmond's name is identified more especially with the good fight he fought to victory for the Peninsular medals, the improvement of prison discipline, and the progress of the militia, and these we shall discuss hereafter more in detail. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that the Duke confined himself to these subjects, and as his political career offers a rare example of consistency, we do not think it will be beside the question if we run cursorily through it.

The Duke's political career may be said to have begun on the accession of the Fourth George, when he first took his seat as a peer of the realm; for, although he was for many years a member of the Lower House, he seldom took part in the debates. When he entered the House of Lords, however, such important questions were agitating the country, that the Duke, as a good

citizen, thought it his duty to take a more active part.

The death of George III., in his eighty-second year, was an event which, though it had been long anticipated, affected severely the hearts of those who held the good old King in respectful memory, on account of his earnest desire to improve the religious, moral, and intellectual welfare of his people. The accession of his son to the throne merely effected a change in his title, for he had long been *de facto* ruler of England, and his first act as King was to secure the previous ministry in office. On first taking his seat in the privy council as monarch, George IV., after alluding to the demise of the monarch who during nearly sixty years had reigned and lived in the hearts of his people, made a declaration that "nothing but the support he had received in times most eventful, and circumstances most arduous, from Parliament and the country, could inspire him with that confidence which his present situation demanded. He trusted that experience of the past might satisfy all classes of his people, that it would ever be his most anxious endeavour to promote their prosperity and happiness, as well as to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberty of the kingdom."

A rapid succession of domestic calamities, the difficulty of arranging the Queen's position, and an illness brought on by exposure to the inclemency of the weather, prevented the King from attending the obsequies of his father, and the Duke of York officiated as chief mourner.

The new Parliament was opened on April 27th, and

early in the session a question was agitated, in which the Duke of Richmond took, and continued to take during life, the deepest interest. It was a resolution moved by Mr. Holme Sumner "to take into consideration the agricultural state of the country." The table of the House was loaded with petitions from all quarters, complaining of the prevailing distress; previous efforts to maintain remunerative prices had failed, the depression in the value of produce still continued, and the petition of the landed interest was for additional restriction, by fixing a high permanent duty in lieu of a limited prohibition.

These petitions were naturally opposed by those engaged in commercial and manufacturing pursuits, who looked with horror on any attempt to raise the price of corn. After many lengthened debates, in one of which Mr. Robinson, then President of the Board of Trade, deprecated "the monstrous proposition which had been suggested of a forty-shilling permanent duty," the motion for a committee was carried. On the following evening, however, Government collected in force, and neutralised the effect of the motion by a proposition that limited the inquiries of the committee to "the best mode of ascertaining the weekly average of corn prices." This was carried by a large majority, and the country party had to put up with the disappointment of having to wait for another year, until the subject could be again introduced with any prospect of success.

About the middle of April a letter appeared in the newspapers, written by Queen Caroline, in which she described the various insults she had received from

foreign Courts, especially from the Austrian. But the pith of the extraordinary document lay in the Queen's statement, that she had written to Lords Castlereagh and Liverpool demanding that her name should be inserted in the liturgy as Queen of England, and that a palace should be prepared for her, as she intended to take up her residence among her loving subjects.

This document, dated from St. Omer, was a declaration of war, which the King tried to parry by proposing a compromise. An offer was conveyed to the Queen, through Lord Hutchinson, that an annuity of 50,000*l.* should be granted by Parliament, subject to certain conditions of the King's. These conditions, the luckless negotiator was compelled to insinuate, were that she was not to assume the title of Queen of Great Britain or any other attached to the royal family of England, and that she was to remain abroad and never visit this country.

Despite of the honeyed conclusion, "that it was the writer's earnest supplication that Her Majesty would take the propositions into calm consideration, and not misinterpret the advice of one who could have no motive in giving her fallacious counsel," the Queen at once refused acceptance, and Lord Hutchinson, who was perfectly unprepared for this, attempted to renew the negotiation by the aid of Mr. Brougham. But the Queen, in her exasperation at the humiliation to which she was exposed, had already formed the daring resolution of returning to England, where she landed on June 6th.

As neither the King nor Government contemplated the Queen's arrival, no orders were given to the authorities at the place of landing, and the commandant con-

sequently received her with a royal salute. Her progress to London was a perfect triumph, and she was everywhere greeted by the multitude with acclamations. It was not that the public feeling believed the groundlessness of the charges brought against the Queen; but, as Cobbett justly observes, they compared what they had heard of the wife with what they had seen of the husband, and not caring for the question of guilt and innocence, determined that she had been wronged, and resolved to uphold her.

An extraordinary degree of excitement was aroused by this, especially in the Lower House, where Grey Bennet, celebrated by the lines that appeared in *John Bull*,

“ And frothy Grey Bennet,
That very day se’nnight,
Drove down in his dennett
To Brandenburg House,”

and other members of the Opposition, expressed themselves in terms of great asperity. During the debate, Canning was extremely happy in his hit at one of Her Majesty’s Civic Councillors. In lamenting the failure of the negotiations at St. Omer, he said that “he attached no blame to the conduct of the honourable gentleman (Brougham), and the noble Lord (Hutchinson). Advice had, no doubt, been tendered to Her Majesty which, if it had not proceeded from bad intention, was not characteristic of *absolute wisdom*: that advice, however, by frustrating the negotiations, had forced this appeal to Parliament.”

Wilberforce, who concealed considerable worldly

wisdom under a garb of sanctity, and who had no objection to stand well with all parties, stopped the debate, ere it became too acrimonious, by recommending an adjournment, "hoping, that during such an interval, some mode of compromise might be discovered, to prevent this disgusting investigation, which was likely to be so injurious to the character of royalty, as well as public morals."

To this Lord Castlereagh eagerly assented, and fresh offers were made the Queen, which she indignantly declined, and all hope of a compromise was at an end. On the 4th July, the Secret Committee made their Report, stating that the charges appeared calculated to affect not only the honour of the Queen, but the dignity of the Crown, and the moral character of the country. Therefore, in their opinion, it was necessary that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which might best be effected in the form of a legislative proceeding.

In pursuance of this resolution, the Earl of Liverpool two days later brought in a bill of pains and penalties, and according to the forms of the House of Lords the bill was read a first time. Counsel were appointed on both sides, and the breach was rendered, if possible, more irreparable by an illadvised letter the Queen wrote to George IV. After recapitulating her numerous wrongs she concluded with the following bitter invective against her accusers and Parliament :

"Even at the slave mart the cries of 'Oh, my mother!' 'Oh, my child!' have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice; but your advisers, more inhuman than slave dealers, remorselessly tore the mother

from her child. Your court was the scene, not of polished manners and refined intercourse, but of low intrigue and scurrility, in which spies, bacchanalian tale-bearers, and foul conspirators, swarmed."

In allusion to the hereditary legislators, she also wrote :

"To regard such a body as a court of justice would be to calumniate that sacred name ; and for me to suppress the expression of my opinion, would be to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition on the nation and the world. I protest against this species of trial. I demand it in a court where the jurors are taken impartially from among the people, and the proceedings are open and fair ; I will not, except compelled by force, submit to any sentence not pronounced by a court of justice."

It is not for us to rake up the evidence brought against the Queen ; the verdict need only detain us. After a debate of four nights, on the second reading of the bill, which involved the question, guilty or not guilty, the motion was carried by 123 against 95. Many peers, however, protested, on many grounds—principally, however, on the want of proof of the alleged adultery.*

* Dissentient, No. 1.—"Because the second reading of the bill is equivalent to a decision that adulterous intercourse (the only foundation on which the bill can rest) has been satisfactorily proved. Because that adulterous intercourse has been inferred, but not proved ; and in a doubtful case, in which the imputed guilt is not proved, although innocence be not established, the benefit of that doubt, conformably to the principles of British justice, must be given to the defendant." This was signed :—

"RICHMOND AND LENNOX,

For the first reason only."

After repeated discussions the bill was read a third time on November 10, and passed by a majority of 108 to 99. In consequence of the smallness of the majority, and the state of public feeling, the bill was then abandoned, and obloquy still adhered to both accuser and accused.

Another subject, soon after mooted in both Houses, and in which the Duke of Richmond took the deepest interest, was the Roman Catholic question. After the death of Henry Grattan, that unswerving defender of the Catholics, Lord Plunkett, stepped forward as their champion. On February 28, he brought the question before the House, in a speech unexampled for eloquence, and in spite of Peel's strenuous resistance, carried it by a majority of six. The House accordingly resolved itself into a Committee, and two bills were passed, which were sent to the Upper House for approval.

Lord Donoughmore again stepped forward to defend the rights of his countrymen, but was fated to meet with a more strenuous opposition than that offered in the Lower House. It was during the second day's debate that the Duke of York, heir presumptive to the throne, made his memorable speech, containing the following passage :

“Educated in the principles of the Established Church, the more I inquire, and the more I think, the more am I persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the Constitution ; and I pray that she may long remain so. At the same time, there is no man less an enemy to toleration than myself ; but I

distinguish between the allowance of the free exercise of religion, and the granting of political power."

After a prolonged debate, the bill was thrown out by 159 against 120; and of the 27 spiritual peers who voted either personally or by proxy, only two, Dr. Bathurst, of Norwich, and Dr. Kent, of Rochester, were found among the "contents." With the Cabinet it was an open question; and as many of the leading ministerial members in both Houses supported the measure, the falling off of the previous majorities may thus be accounted for.

In 1821 and 1822 the Duke of Richmond watched with great interest the progress of the various Committees appointed to investigate the causes of agricultural distress; but the first debate in which he took a leading part was on June 11, 1824, when Earl Grosvenor moved the second reading of the Game Laws Amendment Bill, whose object was to legalise the purchase and sale of game. He concluded his remarks with the following observation: "The temptation to poaching would be less after the passing of this bill, inasmuch as it would render game so cheap by increasing the supply, as to make it not worth the poacher's while to follow his nefarious practice. Deer stealing had been terminated by a similar course of proceeding, and few poets, however hungry, would now find it answer their purpose to run the hazard once incurred by our greatest dramatist."

The Duke of Richmond opposed the bill; he admitted the great evil of poaching, but he did not consider it would be decreased by making it legal for the poacher

to sell the game he had stolen, and which could not be identified ; if the bill were to pass, he did not see the possibility of ever convicting a poacher. After a rather tame discussion the motion was negatived without a division. Although a constant attendant at the House of Lords, the Duke did not again address his fellow peers until the year 1827, when the Earl of Malmesbury rose to ask for some returns with reference to the importation of wool. On this subject the Duke felt called upon to make a few remarks, for he had presented a number of petitions from his own county. As to the observations made that wool had been left on the hands of the growers, owing to the permission to import for the good of the manufacturers, he could only say that it was one of the experiments of the free-trade gentlemen. It had, however, failed, and now they attempted to put a gloss over it. He hoped and trusted that the noble Earl who had moved for these returns would call the attention of the House to this important subject. He could not believe that it was beneficial for this country to allow a foreign power to send us its produce, and he thought it would be better to revert to the former system.

When the subject of the game-laws was again brought forward shortly after, the Duke of Richmond emphatically declared that the existing laws were most unjust in their operation. As to the effect apprehended from the bill before the Committee, that it would be attended by the destruction of the game, there was just as much reason to apprehend it at present ; because any man who chose to destroy game could do so by laying poison

in his fields, which the law did not prevent. He considered the whole system of our game-laws so disgraceful, that he would vote for any alteration in them that might be proposed. It was not by law, but by an armed force that game was now protected. Again, in 1828, he admitted that upon this subject he was a great reformer; he would repeal the whole of the laws, and substitute a summary Act in their stead.

On the 5th of May, 1828, the Duke of Richmond, in moving for a committee to inquire into the state of the wool trade, said, that he was satisfied he should be able to lay a case before their Lordships which called for inquiry. He would begin with the year 1819, in which a duty of 6*d.* was laid upon the importation of foreign wool. For a series of years prior to that, the war, which desolated Europe, prevented foreign wool, like many other foreign commodities, from being imported into this country. That duty of 6*d.* was, in 1825, reduced to 1*d.*; but the agricultural interest did not agree to this reduction, until they received what they supposed to be an equivalent, in the permission to export their own produce in return. But this turned out to be a mere imaginary equivalent; inasmuch as, for every pound of wool exported by them, one hundred and four pounds of foreign wool were imported. The consequence of this measure was, that it reduced the price of British wool to less than what it was in 1777. To show that there had been a decrease in the quantity of British cloth exported, occasioned by the duty on foreign wool being reduced, he had only to refer to the printed returns for the last ten years, from which it

appeared, that during the five years in which the duty was imposed, namely, 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823, and 1824, the quantity exported exceeded that of the other five years, namely, 1818, 1819, 1825, 1826, and 1827, by eighty-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-five pieces, so that there had been a considerable falling off since the duty had been reduced to 1*d*. He did not mean to contend, however, that a duty of 6*d*. ought to be imposed ; but he wished to show that it was not on a small protecting duty that the success, or the non-success, of the woollen manufacture depended. He believed it would also be found that the British wool grower had not the same protection as the owner of any other staple manufacture, and he could see no reason why he should not. In proof of this assertion, the noble Duke read a scale of duties on various other articles, such as copper, timber, bark, &c., the respective duties on the importation of which were higher than those on wool ; the latter being only protected by a duty of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. He was not disposed to go into any lengthened argument upon the result of this unequal protection, as it affected the interests of the wool trade. He was satisfied he had made out a *prima facie* case, that the wool-grower was without any adequate protection, and he claimed it as an act of justice from their Lordships to be permitted to prove before a Committee that these statements were correct. The noble Duke concluded by moving, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the present state of the wool trade." The motion was agreed to.

During the renewed agitation on the subject of the

Catholic claims, the Duke of Richmond presented a petition from the county of Sussex against them, and took the opportunity to remark, that, notwithstanding the marvellous events of the last week,* his opinions, perhaps they should now be called prejudices, against Catholic Emancipation, were, and would continue, unaltered. On another occasion, his Grace presented a similar petition from Brighton, signed by nearly 4000 respectable inhabitants, and remarked, that it was with sincere satisfaction he had heard a noble Lord declare that the clergy of the Church of England were opposed to the contemplated measure. It had generally been said that the clergy were in the habit of following the Government, and he was very happy to see that, in this instance, they had thought it necessary, in defence of the Protestant religion, to make a stand against Government.

But all opposition was in vain: the fiat had gone forth that the Catholics should be emancipated: the King's resistance had been overcome by a ministerial resignation; and the third reading of the Bill was finally carried by 213 against 109. It was on this occasion that Lord Eldon, who fought gallantly to the end, declared that he would sooner lay down his existence that very night, than awake to the reflection that he had consented to an Act which would stamp him as a traitor to his Church, a violator of his oath, and a traitor to our Constitution.

* In allusion to the Duke of Wellington's statement that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to present a measure for the adjustment of these claims.

The Duke of Richmond also took an active part in the debate. He said that he should feel it to be his duty as a peer of that House, to give every possible opposition to the measures now in progress, which in his opinion were decidedly hostile to the best interests of the country, and he trusted that his opposition would be found manly, fair, and open. He would not call to his aid, in opposing the Roman Catholic claims, any other weapon but regular Parliamentary practice; and he wished it most particularly to be understood that if these measures, unfortunately in his opinion, should be carried, no man would be more anxious than himself to see them produce a good effect; and no man would feel greater gratification than he should do, if he found they answered the expectations which had been formed as to their efficacy; but he felt convinced that if unhappily, the noble duke (Wellington) should gain the victory upon this occasion, he would, for the first time in his life, be compelled to deplore the success.

Possibly, the most effective speech the Duke made on the subject of Catholic emancipation was the following, from which we give the more important passages:—
“The noble Earl (Wicklow) had called upon those who opposed the measures of Government, to state what they would wish to substitute in their place. No opinion of his upon this point could have much weight with their lordships, and therefore he would quote that of a high legal authority, who, after having argued the question at considerable length, and declared that the granting of emancipation would be the upsetting of the Protestant Church, being asked what he proposed to substitute for

emancipation said, 'I do not know that I ought to be required to answer such a question. My answer therefore is, that I am not a member of his Majesty's Government. I am not one of the ministers of the Crown—I have no connection with the Government—I am not united to them otherwise than by the respect I owe to the individuals of which it is composed. It would consequently be idle, and indeed mischievous, for me to pretend to say what is my opinion, as to the measures that ought to be adopted.' He concurred in that opinion; he thought it would be extremely improper in any one not holding office to declare his sentiments on the point referred to; and therefore he felt much respect for the Master of the Rolls of 1827 (the present Lord Chancellor Eldon), for having made that statement. The noble lord (Wicklow) said that the Catholics had always stepped forward to fight the battles of their country. He was aware that the majority of the Catholic population had taken a patriotic part in the struggles in which the country had been engaged; and though he was not disposed to give Catholics credit for having won every action which had been fought on sea and land, yet he would admit that they had conducted themselves most meritoriously. But, did any one believe that the class of individuals who had done all this would gain anything by the measure now proposed? Were not noble lords about to disfranchise these men, to take away the only rights and privileges which were left them? Did any one believe that these individuals would obtain seats in Parliament and in the Cabinet? No. Then he would entreat noble lords, who were pre-

pared to disfranchise the large body of individuals, to correct any abuses which might exist, but not to punish the majority for the fault of a portion ; and to beware of the principle involved in the question before they consented to limit the elective franchise in Ireland.”

In the Royal speech opening Parliament on February 4, 1830, the prevailing distress in the country was referred to, and the Houses urged to consider the best measures to be adopted for its removal. The language of the speech, temperate though it was, called down on the Duke of Wellington nearly as much asperity of language and hostility, as were bestowed on Sir Robert Peel during the Free-trade movement.

The Duke of Richmond asked with warmth of feeling “ Were their lordships then to tell the labourer and manufacturer that they must starve? Were they to tell the yeomanry that there was no remedy for them but patience? That was not the language to hold to them in their distresses. He should not, however, shrink from the performance of his duty, although he might be exposed to the serious charge by so doing of ‘ assaulting,’ he believed was the word, the administration.”

Later in the month when a motion was submitted by Earl Stanhope respecting the State of the nation, the Duke of Richmond said that he had never heard a more convincing speech than that of the noble Lord by whom the present motion was brought forward, and in illustrating the distress of the labourers remarked that these men were loyal to their King, and obedient to the laws, and they sought not to intimidate, but they asked from

their Lordships that inquiry which it seemed to him they had an actual right to demand. Who was there that had not read, and having read who did not feel deeply, those facts which were seen every day in the newspapers—that peasants, guiltless of any crime, were harnessed to waggons, and degraded to the labour of brutes? This cruel occurrence was frequently witnessed not only in Chester, but in the very county where the Head of the Government was one of the principal land-owners, and Lord Lieutenant.

The Duke of Wellington replied in a dignified matter, deprecating personal attacks, which could do no good to the cause they all had at heart. The Duke of Richmond in explanation said that the noble Duke must know but little of him if he could suppose that anything which he had said had been dictated by personal feeling. He had served under the noble duke's banner, and had passed some of the happiest days of his life with him; and if he were to act as his personal feelings dictated, it would be in every case to support the noble Duke. He had alluded to an occurrence in which the noble Duke had a preponderating influence, only to corroborate his assertion, that the English peasantry were now in a most impoverished and degraded state.

Again and again did the Duke of Richmond revert to the attack, and a fresh cause for divergence from his old Chief arose from the fact that he had undertaken, a petition from the publicans of London against "the Sale of Beer" bill, which, however, was read a third time.

CHAPTER IX.

DEATH OF GEORGE IV.—RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY—THE DUKE AS POSTMASTER-GENERAL — THE REFORM BILL — THE DUKE'S OPINIONS — SERIOUS DISTURBANCES — LORD DURHAM — PUBLIC MEETINGS—PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL.

ON July 15, 1830, the funeral of George IV. took place at Windsor Castle, and the Duke of Richmond was selected as one of the pall-bearers. In his description of the solemnity the Duke was specially wont to dwell on the absence of that unfeigned sorrow, which characterised the funeral of the "loss of millions," the Princess Charlotte; for, although the utmost decorum was preserved, coldness and indifference prevailed.

It is true that when the minute guns were fired, when the bands commenced playing the Dead March in Saul, a feeling of reverential awe may have fallen upon the hearts of the spectators, but there was no affection or veneration for the deceased, except among a few personal friends. His harsh conduct to his once "ever adorable Perdita," his implacable hatred of the Princess of Wales, his seclusion at the cottage in Windsor Park, all tended to make the fourth of the Georges unpopular with the people, who, in their indiscriminate appreciation of the deceased monarch's conduct, refused to take into account the temptations to which his exalted position exposed

him, and ignored his great kindness of heart, and his magnificent benevolence.

Upon the accession of William IV. a sharp opposition was offered to the suggestion that Parliament should be dissolved, and, although Wellington declared that "if the amendment were passed it would be viewed as a complete defeat of the ministers," many of those to whom the Prime Minister looked for support were against him. Among them may be named Lords Harrowby, Winchester, and Eldon, the Duke of Richmond, Marquis of Londonderry, Earl Mansfield, and Lord Wharncliffe, who, one after another, stated their determination to vote for the amendment. It was upon this occasion that the subject of this memoir denounced the Government "as a Government of mere expediency, full of vacillating proposals, never daring to propose and support measures on their own proper grounds."

In November of this year the King and Queen had promised to honour the Lord Mayor's feast at Guildhall by their presence, and great preparations were made on this august occasion. Late on the 7th of November, however, Sir Robert Peel wrote to the Lord Mayor, stating that the King, following the advice of ministers, had resolved to put off his visit to a future opportunity; the reason given for this determination was, that information recently received gave cause for apprehension lest, notwithstanding the devoted loyalty of the citizens of London, advantage might be taken of the nocturnal assemblage of multitudes to create tumult and confusion; and it would be a source of deep and lasting

concern to their majesties, if any calamity were to occur on the occasion of their visit to the city.

For a short period considerable trepidation was felt in London, for the populace had lately been set upon the Duke of Wellington, owing to the opposition he offered to the Reform Bill, while Sir Robert Peel's New Metropolitan Police were not agreeable to the many-headed. It was very shortly discovered, however, that there was no cause for apprehension, and severe animadversions were passed upon ministers in both houses, for preventing the King's visit to the city. During the discussion the Duke of Richmond declared that the King reigned in the hearts of his countrymen; and might have gone safely, unaccompanied by guards, through every street of the metropolis.

In his reply the Duke of Wellington alluded in the following terms to his old aide-de-camp to whom he was now politically opposed:—

“Before I proceed to address myself on the subject before the House, I feel it necessary to say that I am under great obligations to the noble Duke for putting it in my power to explain the circumstances of the letter to which he has alluded. Before I begin, however, I wish to state, that I concur in the opinion delivered by the noble Duke, that His Majesty is the most popular sovereign that ever reigned in this country; and, still more, that he is a sovereign whose public and private conduct most deserves the popularity which he has obtained.” The Duke then read to the House the letter which the Lord Mayor had addressed him, and after explaining his reasons for urging the King to

postpone his visit to the City banquet, proceeded thus to address the subject of this memoir:—"The noble Duke (of Richmond) has asked if the news of disorder and tumult was confined to the City of London, and if there were apprehensions of riot in other places? There were not. It was sufficient for me to know that there were such apprehensions in the City. With some parts of the country other noble lords must be better acquainted than I am. The noble Duke himself must know more than I do as to the disposition of the people of Sussex."

On a proposition to increase the Civil List Government was defeated, and the Duke at once handed in his resignation, making room for a Whig ministry, which appointed the Duke of Richmond Post-Master General. He was the only member of the old Tory party who entered the new cabinet.

As Post-Master General, the Duke commenced many of those reforms which his successors have carried through. Nothing could exceed the zeal, energy and labour he threw into the cause, and there was scarce a day in the week that he did not visit St. Martins-le-grand, at the precise hour when official duties began. By making himself thorough master of the subject, he was prepared to meet any attack that might be made on his administration in the Opposition newspapers, or any motion for inquiry that might be brought forward in the other House, by the indefatigable reformer, Joseph Hume.

When Parliament met again, the Duke of Richmond thus expressed his feelings upon the new and all engrossing subject of Reform.

“He would say one word before he sat down, on the subject of a Reform in Parliament. He was no friend to a radical change in the system of representation, but he thought some change necessary in the existing state of opinion; and although he would not then state to what extent he thought that change ought to go, he promised to give any proposition on that subject which might be brought before the House his best attention. He would be one of the last to yield to the clamours of the mob; but he agreed with those who thought that some Reform was necessary, and he was prepared to concede the demands of the people.”

When the subject of the proposed ministerial plan of Reform was discussed in the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond further explained his views on the matter. He said that was it not his purpose to take up the time of their lordships; but as he had been alluded to, and as a charge of inconsistency had been elsewhere urged against him, he wished to make a very few observations. Taking the present question merely upon its own merits, it must be considered one of overwhelming interest, and he had therefore little supposed that the opinions of so humble an individual as himself would have attracted notice on so important an occasion. It had, however, been thought fit to appeal to his protest against the disfranchisement of the forty freeholders, and an attempt had been made to draw a parallel between that disfranchisement and the proposed disfranchisement of the boroughs, for the purpose of fastening upon him a charge of inconsistency, in supporting the Reform Bill. He would not now flinch a tittle from his former statements, or pare down any one

of his expressions, with a view to his exculpation. At the period referred to, a great measure had been brought forward, disfranchising 180,000 freeholders, without any accusation of corruption having ever been brought against them.

His Grace then went on to justify his protest against "seizing upon and confiscating the indubitable rights, privileges, and franchises of unoffending citizens," asking "what was the analogy between the case of sixty rotten boroughs, and the one referred to?"

"Were the patrons of boroughs," asked the Duke, "and the nominees of patrons unoffending, or were they unheard, and was their case unadvocated? He would not for a moment admit the special pleading and sophistry by which this question had been attempted to be disguised. Would the disfranchisements of Medhurst, or Wareham, or Old Sarum affect any one individual, save only the patrons and their nominees; and had not these been accused by the united voices of the whole country? on one side there was a ministry which had floated into office on the tide of public opinion, and was there not on the other a ministry which had laid down office in defending the system so universally complained of? Nor was there at this moment a late Secretary of State in the other House, fighting as if for life and death, for his share in the borough of Tamworth? It was not likely, indeed, that either the Right Honourable gentleman or any one else; or either side, would forget Westbury. Then, how ably had the interests of the notable borough of Boroughbridge been defended by the facetious drollery and legal acuteness of the Ex-

Attorney-General (Sir G. Wetherell), its celebrated representative. The noble lord, who preceded him, had accused those who supported the Reform Bill of revolutionary projects, yet as well might a similar charge be urged against the gallant officer opposite (Wellington) who led the British troops to victory, because he maintained the discipline of the army, and introduced new regulations in various departments, or supplied new men of superior energy, according as his troops became debilitated or decayed. The principle was precisely the same. It was proposed to draught off Gatton and old Sarum, and substitute for them the youthful energies of Manchester, and the full-grown manhood of Birmingham. Could the noble lord suppose they were weakening the defence of the constitution, by sweeping away the ruins of Aldborough and Corfe Castle, and entrenching themselves behind the strong bulwarks of Leeds and Sheffield? or did the noble lord suppose that treason was lurking in the proposition for investing the West Riding of Yorkshire with the elective franchise? He would not detain their lordships any longer. He would only say, he hoped their lordships would not refuse their sanction to a Bill, which was the offspring of long deliberation—the result of the reflection of an unanimous Cabinet—and would soon come before them. He trusted that they would not refuse their sanction to a measure, which must have the effect of uniting the hearts of all His Majesty's subjects, which would increase their respect for, and their confidence in Parliament, and their affection for their Sovereign. Their lordships, he was sure, would not refuse their sanction to

a measure which satisfied the just expectations of reasonable people, which would give permanent security to property, and perpetual stability to the Throne.”

At the coronation of William 4th, which took place on September 8, 1831, in deference to the depressed state of trade, and in a great measure owing to the sailor king's dislike to ostentation, the usual gorgeous ceremonies were dispensed with, and no banquet even was held in Westminster Abbey. On this occasion the Duke of Richmond bore the sceptre and dove; and the King, on his passage from St James' Palace to Westminster Abbey, with a procession differing but slightly from that usual on opening Parliament, was greeted with the hearty cheers of his population.

In truth, this was no time for Court ceremonials, and we of the present generation can hardly form an idea of the effervescence that prevailed throughout the country on the question of Reform. On October 3, the Bill was thrown out in the House of Lords by a majority of forty-one; and no sooner was the result known, than the greatest excitement broke out in the metropolis. The infuriated mob attacked the mansions of the Duke of Wellington and Earls Bathurst and Dudley, and assailed the Duke of Cumberland, who was dragged from his horse and placed in imminent danger of being trampled under foot, when the police fortunately rescued him. Nor did the gallant Lord Londonderry escape; for he was received with shouts of anger, and volleys of stones and brick-bats, which must have reminded him of his early campaigning days against a more noble foe.

Nor was the frenzy confined to the Capital, for it extended over the provinces. At Derby, an infuriated mob broke open one of the gaols, and set the prisoners free. At Nottingham, the people vented their spite on the leader of the Tories of the county, the Duke of Newcastle, by burning his ancient Castle. At Croydon, within a few miles of the metropolis, the Archbishop of Canterbury was grossly insulted while presiding at a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. In Somersetshire, the Bishop of the Diocese was rudely assailed, while consecrating a new church, and several other prelates who had dared to adhere to their own convictions in the matter of Reform were burned in effigy.

The most deplorable excesses, however, occurred at Bristol. The recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, was obliged to fly for his life; the Town Hall was sacked; the Custom House burnt; while the Excise Office, Bishop's palace, gaol, stores, and many private houses were fired, after being gutted. The soldiers were called out; about 100 lives were sacrificed, and public and private property to an enormous amount was destroyed ere tranquillity was restored. Of the two hundred prisoners made, many of whom had their plunder about them, eighty-one were convicted, and five were left for execution, though only four suffered the extreme penalty.

On October 26, the King had prorogued Parliament, in a speech which announced the intention of government to introduce a Reform Bill as early as possible, and, on December 6, his Majesty, on opening the Houses, recommended a speedy and satisfactory settle-

ment of the Reform question, which daily became of more impressive importance to the security of the State, as well as to the contentment and welfare of the people. A new bill was introduced by Lord John, which, after a lengthened debate, passed by a majority of nearly two to one, and the House then adjourned until the 17th January.

On March 26, the bill having finally passed the Commons, was carried to the Upper House by Lord John Russell, Lord Althorp, and an unusual number of members. The same prognostications of the downfall of monarchy, and the same violent language that had characterised the debate in the Lower House, were adopted by the Peers. The most remarkable scene occurred on the rising of Lord Durham to support the bill. This nobleman had through life been a consistent reformer, in days when such a character was not so honoured as it had begun to be in 1832. His connection with Lord Grey, both by marriage and politics, and a natural excitable temperament, had roused him into action, and his usual excitement had been greatly raised by a passage in the Bishop of Exeter's speech, where, descanting on the tone of the press, he spoke of certain articles in the "Times" newspaper, as "breathing the inspiration of the Treasury." After complimenting Lord Wynford, who had preceded him, for an absence of party asperity and rancorous animosity against his Majesty's ministers, which was very different to the tone adopted by a right reverend prelate (the Bishop of Exeter), who had spoken the previous evening, he observed, with scorn in his look, and fury in his dark piercing eye, "of that exhi-

bition, I shall only say, that if coarse and virulent invective, malignant and false insinuations, the grossest perversion of historical facts, decked out with all the choicest flowers of pamphleteering slang —” Here Lord Durham was called to order, and the Earl of Winchelsea moved that the words “base insinuations,” and “pamphleteering slang,” should be taken down. A scene ensued, difficult to describe: Lord Durham was all defiance; and after repeating the declaration in a dignified manner, he bearded the House by saying, “I pause to give any noble Lord the opportunity of taking down my words.” A dead silence prevailed, when the excited nobleman observed, that as no further interruption was to be made, he would dismiss the subject, trusting, that if he had expressed himself too warmly, some allowances should be made for one whose tortured mind had been afflicted with a severe domestic loss, to which had been added calumnies of the basest description.

Another sharp dispute was occasioned when the Bishop of Gloucester repudiated the insinuations thrown out by Lord Shrewsbury “with unutterable scorn,” remarking, that if he did not abandon, or make good his attack against the Church, his long line of ancestors would not save him from disgrace. The result of the entire debate was a majority of nine in favour of Ministers, and a protest was entered upon the Journals of the House of Lords, signed by the Duke of Wellington and seventy-four other Peers, including the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, and six Prelates. The House then adjourned to May 7.

During the recess the advocates of Reform were on the alert ; public meetings were convened at the principal towns in England, where petitions were drawn up to the King and House of Lords, beseeching them to pass " the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill," uninjured by Tory amendments ; and resolutions were passed expressing unabated confidence in Earl Grey and his colleagues. The monster meeting of the Association in Warwick, Worcester, and Stafford, at the foot of Newhall Hill, formed one of the most important gatherings ; the great northern division alone was estimated at 100,000 people ; at Edinburgh 50,000 assembled in the King's Park, near Holyrood, clamorous for Reform ; in the metropolis, an extraordinary meeting of the National Union took place, presided over by Joseph Hume ; while Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, Glasgow, Dundee, Paisley, and other towns, declared the sittings of their Political Unions to be permanent until the bill should have passed into a law.

In the meantime, the anti-Reformers were exerting every influence to defeat the Government ; and on Lord Lyndhurst's amendment being carried by a majority of 35, Lord Grey lost no time in urging his Royal Master to create such a number of Peers as might enable him to withstand all opposition ; this proposition being declined, the Ministers tendered their resignation. Lord Lyndhurst was sent for by the King, and despatched to the Duke of Wellington to ask for his advice under the sudden emergency in which the country was placed.

With that promptitude which characterised the great warrior, and that devotion to his Sovereign which was

ever uppermost in his mind, he at once placed his services at the King's disposal. With every wish to form a government, Wellington found such a step totally impossible. The House of Commons had carried a vote of confidence in Lord Grey's Administration ; independently of which, Peel declined to join the new government. The result was, that the Duke failed in his attempt, and Grey was again restored to power, armed with the King's most reluctant sanction to create such a number of Peers as might be necessary to pass the bill.

The result is known. On the 7th of June, the Royal Assent was given to it by commission, and the triumph of the Reformers knew no bounds. It would be a painful task to dwell upon the ingratitude, the brutality, the ruffianly conduct of a mob of—we grieve to write the word—Englishmen, who, forgetting the military services of the hero of a hundred battles, attacked the Duke of Wellington in the public streets, and would have trampled him down had it not been for the interference of the police and a few Chelsea veterans, who conducted him in safety to Lincoln's Inn.

Parliament, which had been prorogued on the 16th of October, was dissolved on the 8th of December ; and the first general election under the new Act took place, the writs being made returnable on the 29th of January, 1833. In the English boroughs, the ministerial candidates were, generally speaking, successful ; not so in the counties, where the landowners possessed great influence. Perhaps, however, the greatest triumph to the Whigs were the Scotch returns ; for, out of fifty-three

representatives, not more than ten or eleven were Tories. In Ireland, O'Connell's influence prevailed; and having denounced the Government for acting with insult and injustice to that distracted country, the ministerial ranks were not much increased in that portion of the empire.

In looking back to the annals of our country, we can scarcely find a period in which the passions of all classes were more inflamed than they were during the memorable year of 1832—the Tory party feeling that the days of monarchy were numbered; the Whigs rejoicing at their success; and the Radicals elated with triumph at having “got the wedge in,” and secured the first step that they had so long contended for.

CHAPTER X.

THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY BILL—RETIREMENT OF THE DUKE—HIS
EXPLANATION—THE AGRICULTURAL INTEREST—THE CORONATION
—FREE TRADE—PASSING OF THE CORN-LAW BILL.

AFTER the turbulent debates which accompanied the passing of the Reform Bill, both Houses felt the want of a slight rest. Consequently, when the King opened the new Reformed Parliament, his speech was accepted complacently by all parties, save and excepting the Irish Brigade, whose leader denounced the passage in the speech referring to Ireland, in his own pleasant way, as "bloody, brutal, and unconstitutional." The House, however, was in no temper for fighting. The Irish Coercion and Irish Church Bills were passed early in the session, and the Legislative Body next turned their attention to financial matters.

Nor do we find much in the Upper House warranting our delaying with it. On May 31st, the Duke of Wellington brought in a petition against the game-laws from the operative gun-makers of London and Birmingham, to which the Duke of Richmond replied. He stated that, as the individual who proposed the amendment in the game-laws, he felt it to be his duty to defend it. The whole *gravamen* of the charge against it seemed to be, that it allowed game to be sold. It had always been sold. As to poachers, he could not

believe that they had increased. It appeared that the gun-makers complained of want of employment. What was the cause? Because they asked eighty guineas for a gun. Let them return to reasonable prices, and gentlemen would again buy of them.

In August, 1833, the Duke of Richmond supported the plan introduced by the Government for the abolition of slavery, and in successfully advocating the 9th clause, "Apprenticed labourers not to be removed from the colonies," which had been opposed by the Duke of Wellington, said, "That it was well known that slaves had an excessive repugnance to being removed from one place to another. Many cases had occurred in which slaves, to whom the option had been made, refused even to be transferred from an unhealthy place to a healthy one. In point of fact, as it was, slaves were not compelled to go from one estate to another, and surely apprenticed negroes ought not to be put in a worse position than the slaves."

When the second reading of the Liverpool Freemen's Disfranchisement Bill was moved by the Earl of Radnor, May, 1834, the Duke of Richmond observed, that he was desirous of saying a few words on this occasion. He would first observe, that if the inquiry were to be confined to the last election, or the election before that, it would be placing the House in a very difficult situation. He, for one, should object to disfranchise any single voter who was not clearly and distinctly proved to have been guilty of corruption in 1830, nearly three years before the operation of the Reform Bill; but he would disfranchise not only at Liverpool, but all over

the country, every man who had in any manner participated in corrupt practices at the elections subsequent to that period. He would hold those men up to public exposure and reprobation, and more particularly those amongst them who were the persons who gave the bribes. There might be some excuse for the poor distressed man, the wants of whose family might drive him to the necessity of selling his vote; but what excuse could be offered for the gentleman, to whom the poor man was accustomed to look up, as an example which he was to follow in all moral considerations? What excuse, he would ask, could there be for this rich man who was guilty of the base act of corrupting his poorer but, morally speaking, his more honest neighbour? He would, therefore, appeal to his noble friend, if it would not be better to name in the bill every man who was proved to be, by his corrupt practices, undeserving of the elective franchise.

Early in May, 1834, the Duke proceeded to France on the subject of the Aubigné property, but his presence being required by his colleagues, he was sent for by express from Paris, and so expeditious were his movements, that he took his seat in the House of Lords in an incredibly short period. This was one of the many instances in which he sacrificed his private business to his public duties.

The power of the Whig government was evidently on the decline; every step they took in favour of their extreme supporters was met by unflinching hostility on the part of the Conservatives; and shortly after the meeting of Parliament, a split in the Cabinet led to

the retirement of Mr. Stanley and Sir James Graham, their example being shortly followed by the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Ripon. The cause of the secession was Mr. Ward's motion relative to the Irish Church, in which it was proposed to apply Church property to secular purposes.

These internal dissensions, which afforded great advantage to O'Connell and his satellites, might have been averted had the Cabinet been formed and carried on upon a distinct understanding to support the Protestant Church, and not acquiesce in any proposals for making its establishment dependent on the comparative strength or weakness of the Catholic Church. When, in June, 1834, the Earl of Wicklow submitted a motion respecting the Church of Ireland, the Duke of Richmond made the following manly avowal of the motives that led to his secession from office: "He felt it his duty to address a few observations to their lordships, though he had little to add to what had fallen from his late colleagues, who had felt it their duty to take the same course with himself, and especially to what had fallen from his right honourable friend the late Secretary for the Colonies (the Earl of Ripon), with whom he entirely agreed in every sentiment and reason which he had advanced. He thought that, as a public man, he was not at liberty to relieve himself from the responsibility of office without explaining his reasons fully to the public why he had separated, though with feelings of the deepest regret, from colleagues with whom he had cordially agreed in all those great and liberal measures which fortunately, as he believed, for the country, they

had carried into effect. But although he had acted with them upon all other points with the most cordial concurrence, he appealed to them whether he had ever disguised his repugnance to any abandonment of those principles which he thought were involved in the appointment of this Commission. The present was not the first time he had expressed his opinion on the subject. On the different debates upon the Catholic question, he had fully and freely expressed his opinion. He had expressed apprehensions of the ultimate views and probable effects of agitation in Ireland. He expressed his apprehension that the establishment of a Catholic in the room of a Protestant Church was contemplated by those who were urging changes, which he thought dangerous to the well-being of the State. He confessed these apprehensions were not yet wholly removed — even notwithstanding the confidence he reposed in the noble Earl (Grey) at the head of the Government; and he believed that no man could be more anxious than was that noble Lord for the protection of the Protestant Church establishment. But he differed entirely from that noble Earl, in supposing that the surplus revenue of the Church could be devoted to secular purposes. It was wrong in principle to suppose so; and as it was wrong in principle, so he believed, if carried into practice, it would be found most detrimental in its effects. When he considered the state of agitation in Ireland, what it had already effected, and the objects at which it aimed, he feared much, that if the principle of appropriation were recognised, it would be found to lead to no other result than a Catholic Church establishment.

In considering the state of the Catholic religion in Ireland, many difficulties presented themselves, and he confessed he was one of those who believed, that in the payment of the Catholic Church was to be found part of the remedy for those events. He was well aware that in so saying he was opposed to the opinions of noble Lords opposite, but he might at least claim credit for the utmost sincerity and purity of motive in entertaining the opinion to which he had just now given expression. He feared if the House sanctioned the principle which appeared to be recognised in the issuing of the Commission, they would be establishing a precedent pregnant with the most fatal consequences. If at any time of popular excitement, or national distress, it was urged upon the Government that the public taxes ought to be reduced, what was it likely would take place in the House of Commons? Would it not be urged that the principle established by the precedent proposed by the Commission ought to be acted upon, and that the Government ought to draw upon the resources of the Church to meet the real or pretended exigencies of the State? The recognition of the principle of a different appropriation would be, in his mind, but setting a premium upon agitation. He did not mean to deny that there were abuses in the Church, and that these abuses, which seriously injured the Church, ought to be corrected; but, in making that admission, he should, at the same time, protest against alienating the property of the Church. He had no objection to inquiry, if the object of the inquiry were to correct—not to destroy; if it were to extend the influence and the usefulness of the

Protestant Church in England and Ireland. Having said thus much upon the general question, their lordships would permit him to observe, that he only came to the determination of quitting office from a sense of duty. By no feeling of a personal nature has he been induced to quit the immediate service of a Sovereign from whom he had received every mark of kindness, or to cease acting in immediate concert with colleagues, in co-operating with whom he had always felt the greatest satisfaction. Nor yet could it be thought that in resigning, his object was the attainment of a popularity, much more likely to be compassed by remaining in, than by retiring from office. He trusted that his noble friend would not sacrifice those large claims which he at present possessed upon his good opinion ; and however obliged to differ upon a question of great public importance, that difference would not, he trusted, interrupt the progress of private friendship."

On a future occasion the Duke took the opportunity of mentioning that what he had said in explanation on a former occasion, was not stated without the express sanction of his Sovereign, and he added :—

"In cases of this sort, where the honour of an individual was concerned, he was anxious for the House to know that he had not stated anything without that sanction. In consequence of despatches from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, recommending that a Commission should issue, the subject was taken into consideration, and from that time till he left the Cabinet, he had heard nothing further about it."

On February 19, 1835, the new Parliament met under

the premiership of Sir Robert Peel, a man "belonging to the people by birth, to the aristocracy by education; blessed with strong physical powers, commanding talents, and a princely fortune securing perfect independence—a man under whom the great Duke, the conqueror of Napoleon, was willing to serve," and on the 24th His Majesty opened Parliament in person. In his speech, he made special allusion to the country party, and "deeply lamented that the agricultural interest still laboured under depression, and earnestly recommended it to the consideration of Parliament with a view to relief." Finally, the speech wound up with a hint against overhasty reforms.

We do not know whether these two passages won the Duke's heart, but so much is certain, that both he and the Earl of Ripon expressed their intention to support the new government, so far as they could applaud its measures. During the debate on the address, which was carried without a division, the Duke of Richmond rose to explain the grounds on which he intended to vote for the annual address:—

"Ridicule," he said "has been attempted to be fastened upon those who wished to give the present government a fair trial; now, although he candidly acknowledged that he had no confidence in the composition of the present administration—the fact of its members having turned round upon the Catholic question had never had his approbation or been a cause with him for giving them confidence—but, at the same time, when he found the country had been appealed to by the King, and that His Majesty, in his speech,

which was the speech of ministers, had declared an intention of proposing to Parliament, measures which he thought of paramount importance, he should feel himself to blame if he refused them the opportunity of laying their measures before Parliament."

In July, when the Earl of Radnor moved that the Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles Bill be read a second time, the Duke of Richmond expressed his intention to vote in favour of it, as he felt it could not be construed into an attack upon the Church Establishment of the country, or the Thirty-nine Articles. If he thought so, he would not support it, but he felt that it was absurd to call upon the youth at the universities to subscribe to the Articles of the Church, before he could be aware of their nature. He was an advocate for the admission of Dissenters to the universities, because he believed, that by their being sent there it was probable that many of them would be converted to what he, in his conscience, believed to be the true faith, namely, that of the Protestant Church of England. He was of opinion that there should be some tests as regarded the tutors, but none to be taken by the pupils.

The Parliament of 1837 was terminated, on June 20, by the lamented death of the King. William IV. was respected by all classes of the community, and by no one more than the Duke of Richmond, who felt his loss most acutely, as a most unrestrained intercourse, founded on mutual attachment, had existed between them for years. It was, therefore, a sad and mournful occasion when he acted as one of the pall-bearers, and

thus paid a parting tribute of respect to the illustrious dead.

At the coronation of Queen Victoria, in the ensuing year, the Duke again bore the sceptre and dove; and in February, 1840, when the Queen's marriage took place, Lady Caroline Gordon Lennox, one of the Duke's daughters, acted as bridesmaid.

During the next three or four years we do not find the Duke taking any active part in politics, and it was not till the progress of the Anti-Corn Law League began to produce a marked sensation that he became active. In 1845 he was selected as president of the Society for the Protection of Agriculture, avowedly formed to counteract the league under Cobden. So soon as the session was opened, the Duke also took the lead in the House as champion of the farmers. After the address had been moved, he complained, that while their lordships were called upon to express their satisfaction at the national prosperity, no mention had been made of the agricultural body, or of the losses to which it had in the last years been subjected. There was a Board of Trade, which represented commerce and manufactures, why was there not also a Board of Agriculture? He regretted, also, that no promise was held out of an alleviation of the hardship with which the income-tax bore upon the agricultural tenant.

His Grace also reviewed these sentiments at a later period, when the principal discussion on the income-tax took place, when he complained very bitterly of the absence of any relief to the agriculturists, and sneered at such measures as the remission of the glass duty,

and that on auctions, as if it was to be supposed that they could be of any practical advantage. He would, nevertheless, support the third reading of the bill, as necessary to uphold public credit.

Later in the session, on the motion of going into committee on the proposed reduction of the auction duties, the Duke of Richmond thus sensibly addressed the House:—

“It was a measure uncalled for by the country; under the present auction duties the tenant-farmer had an exemption; and while they were asking for relief throughout the country, the Government was repealing an Act that exempted the farmers from its operation. He objected to the present bill, because the 300,000*l.*, or 400,000*l.* derived from the present auction duties, if they were not repealed, might be very beneficially applied to the relief of the agricultural interest of the country. He would say, repeal the Malt-tax; or he would relieve the land of the assize and gaol expenses, now paid out of the county rates; which would amount to about 200,000*l.* or 300,000*l.*, to be charged on the Consolidated Fund. They wanted justice to be done them. On what principle was the landed interest of the country required to pay for the apprehension of every prisoner, for his maintenance in prison, and for the prosecution? The government paid half the expenses of the assizes and the sessions, but why should the counties pay anything towards the assizes? The county had no control whatever over this expenditure. The land was very properly made to support a clergyman in every parish; but why was it forced to support a

chaplain in every workhouse and gaol? Why should the expense be thrown exclusively on the land? He wished that the noble Lord would ask his friends, the manufacturers, whether they thought the bargain the landed interest at present had was a very good one? The land had also to bear the whole expense of maintaining the wives and children of those confined in prison and of men transported, whom did their property go to? It did not go towards the county rate, but to the Crown. When recognisances were estreated, they also went to the Crown. Was it fair that one should bear all the loss, and the other take all the profit? There was not a session that did not throw some additional expense on the land, because the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not care how much the county rates were burdened. His proposition had been brought forward in another place; but it was opposed, on the ground that it would appear to be a want of confidence in the government. For his part, as far as their agricultural measures were concerned, he should be prepared to support a vote of want of confidence in them. He disliked those measures, because he considered them a step towards Free Trade, and because they tended to throw many of the meritorious labourers of the country out of employ."

The Duke concluded a forcible speech by moving that the bill be read that day six months. The amendment was negatived by 33 to 15, but, nothing daunted, his Grace moved to omit some of the articles specified for reduction of duty, but on this he was equally unsuccessful, and the Customs' Bill became law.

During this session, the present Duke of Richmond, then Lord March, displayed his feelings on the subject of the agricultural interest by seconding, in a very able speech, an amendment proposed by Mr. W. Miles, pledging the House to grant relief to the farmers of England.

The failure of the potatoe crop in Ireland was the death-blow to the Protectionists, and Lord John, foreseeing what would occur, very cleverly issued an address to the electors of the city of London, in which he not only traced the existing distress to the Corn-laws, but also declared that his opinions were completely changed on the question. The result was, that Sir Robert finding his colleagues averse from the proposed suspension of the Corn-laws by an order in council; tendered his resignation, which was accepted. Lord John, however, failing in his attempt to form a Whig Government, the Queen again called in Sir Robert Peel.

So soon as Sir Robert returned to power, he brought forward the repeal of the Corn-laws, which caused Lord Stanley—the present Earl of Derby—to resign the colonial office, and drew from the Duke of Wellington the following highly memorable speech :

“ He had highly applauded Sir Robert for consenting to resume office under the circumstances of the case ; he had been delighted at his conduct ; it was exactly the course he should have followed under similar circumstances. He had determined that he himself, for one, would stand by him ; he had felt it his duty to do so, thinking that the formation of a Government in which Her Majesty would have confidence, was of greater

importance than any opinion of any individual on the corn law, or on any other law. At the same time he admitted, that when he, on this occasion, agreed to support the premier, he was fully aware that that minister must now, in consequence of the recent negotiation he had entered into, propose a far more sweeping measure than had hitherto been contemplated."

When Wellington made this startling statement, and declared his intention of supporting a measure which he had so recently opposed, on the ground that, "situated as he was in this country; highly rewarded as he had been by the Sovereign and people of England, he could not refuse that Sovereign his aid in forming a government when called upon," a formidable opposition was made to the measure by those who were not prepared for so sweeping a change in the opinions of the prime minister and his ducal supporter in the House of Lords.

Among the most uncompromising enemies to Free Trade was the Duke of Richmond, who viewed the future conduct of the administration with the utmost displeasure, and denounced those who had or were about to desert the Conservative ranks in no measured terms. After Wellington's unjustifiable use of the name of the Crown, and unconstitutional appeal to the Peers,—in which, after declaring that it would probably be the last night on which he should ever venture to address to them any advice at all, he argued that the repeal having been recommended by the speech from the throne, and having been passed by a majority of the House of Commons, it had already received the

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approval of two branches of the Legislature, and that it was perilous to the constitution of the House of Lords, for them to try to stand alone, placing themselves in violent opposition to the Crown and the House of Commons,—the bill was brought to its third reading. An amendment was made by the Duke of Richmond, on which his Grace, knowing the sentiments of the majority, declined to press to a division.

In the following June the measure was passed into a law, and so far Wellington's statement was confirmed, as the speech on the Corn Laws was the last he ever addressed to the Peers as a minister of the Crown.

Parliament had met on the 22nd of January, 1846, and the session was opened by Her Majesty in person. The Royal speech referred principally to the state of Ireland, its assassinations, and the deficiency of the potato crop, intimating remedial measures in both respects, concluding with an eulogy on recent commercial legislation, followed by an indirect recommendation to consider how far greater advantages might be gained by applying the principle more extensively.

When the question was put by the Lord Chancellor that the address be adopted, the Duke of Richmond rose and expressed much displeasure that the discussion had been so abruptly concluded. He had, however, heard enough to know that ministers intended to withdraw protection from the industry of the country, and he challenged them to show any cause for rescinding the solemn compact made with the agricultural interest in 1842. He could see no difference between the Anti-Corn Law League and the Government; and no reason

why they should not create Mr. Cobden a peer. He denounced the League as the author of all these changes, and warned their lordships, by the example of Ireland, still unappeased by the concessions of 1829, not to be intimidated into a surrender of their opinions. He called upon the great towns, too, to observe, that if protection were taken away from agriculture, Sir Robert Peel was bound by his promises in 1839, to remove it from every other article; and asked how, if this complete revolution in our system were achieved, the public creditor was to be satisfied, the farmer to pay his tithe, or a single salary or payment to remain unaltered? He solemnly protested against the clause of the address which referred to protecting duties, as being directly contrary to every principle and every speech of the present Government, and challenged it to test the amount of public confidence it enjoyed by an appeal to the country. He declared that he would resist by every means in his power—factious, if necessary—any diminution in the amount of agricultural protection, and concluded by calling for an explanation of the mysterious resignation (alluding to Lord Stanley) and counter resignation which had lately surprised the world.

Lord Stanley, in reply, declined to enter into details with regard to his motives in retiring from the Government, under the plea that he could not do so, without stating what were the measures contemplated by the other members of the Cabinet. He stated, however, that upon one question only—one relating to the degree and amount of agricultural protection—was there any differ-

ence of opinion. On the 26th the Duke of Richmond asked the Duke of Wellington, whether he had received Her Majesty's permission to state the reasons which had induced the Government to resign, and again to accept office ; and a discussion having ensued, the Duke of Richmond proceeded to say that he hoped inquiry would take place before changes were made in the law. He supposed that the highway-rates and the poor-rates were not burdens upon land? He should like to know whether one of his tenants did not pay more than the whole league put together? Lord Clanricarde had said that Mr. Cobden had made converts of the whole of the Cabinet of Sir Robert Peel, and the rest of the ministers ; and then he said that he had made converts of the people out of doors ; if that were the case, then let the ministers dissolve Parliament, and go to the country. He would say to the farmers throughout the country " Protection ;" not to corn alone, but to British industry. Let them go to the country, and ask the manufacturers of England—and the manufacturers of this town—the English tailors and shoemakers—whether they would consent to foreign articles coming in free of duty? He defied them to go to the country ; let them go and appeal to those constituencies that placed the present Government in power ; and those constituencies would say, " We are against Free Trade now."

The third reading of the Corn Bill having passed the House of Commons by a majority of ninety-eight, it was opposed on its second reading in the House of Lords, and by no one more strenuously than the subject of this memoir, who moved that the bill be read a

second time this day six months, feeling it to be a measure likely to inflict a deadly blow upon British Agriculture, and the national greatness. Lord Ripon had not told their lordships, what, in his opinion, would be the average price of corn, if this measure should pass; but surely ministers had not dared to bring in such a measure without estimates. Lord Ripon had given their lordships a history of the various measures regulating the importation of corn, except that of 1842, which was the measure they were about to repeal; and of this he had not said one syllable.

His Grace then amused their lordships by reading extracts from the speeches of Lord Ripon, when Mr. Robinson, in 1815, and in 1842, dwelling on the discrepancies between them and the speech of the noble Earl on the present occasion. Lord Ripon had admitted that improvements had been made in agriculture for years past, and the money expended on land, upon the faith of an Act of Parliament, was now about to be confiscated. The noble Duke then proceeded to show the benefits which the labourers had derived from the system of protection, as exhibited by the vast accumulations in savings-banks. The present measure was called for by the cotton manufacturers, who looked to a permanent reduction in wages resulting from it. The object, the avowed object of the advocates of this measure out of doors, was to crush the aristocracy; and, unless their lordships maintained the good opinions of the middle classes of the country—which they could not do, if they abandoned their former opinions—they would be powerless indeed. This measure was only the first of a series

of attacks that would shake the foundation of the throne, cripple the church, endanger the institutions of the country, and plunge a happy and contented people into misery, confusion, and anarchy.

The House then divided, when the motion was negatived by four, and the second reading was carried by a majority of forty-seven. In committee, the Duke of Richmond moved the resolution of certain provisions, enabling tenants to vacate their leases, and receive compensation for the productive outlay. His object was to prevent the respectable body of the tenant farmers of England being consigned to ruin. Ultimately his Grace intimated that he should not withdraw his amendment, but would not trouble the committee to divide. Such was the last act in the drama of Protection.

By a curious coincidence, it happened that on the very evening the Corn Law Bill passed the House of Lords, the Protection of Life in Ireland Bill caused the defeat of Sir Robert Peel in the lower. Lord John Russell succeeded to power, and after a long, protracted session Parliament was prorogued by commission on the 28th August. It will ever remain a memorable session in the annals of our country, as the one in which the result of parliamentary reform became apparent, and Protection was swept away by the gigantic power of Free Trade.

CHAPTER XI.

DEATH OF PROTECTION—THE DISTRESS IN IRELAND—DEATH OF DANIEL O'CONNELL—AN EPIGRAM—CHEAP BEER MOVEMENT—CONDITION OF FARM LABOUREES—RESULTS OF FREE TRADE—THE MILITIA—CHANCES OF INVASION.

PROTECTION having vanished like a dream that is fled, his Grace of Richmond directed his opposition resources upon the Customs' Duties Bill, which had passed the House of Commons. He moved that the bill should be read that day six months, and made a most able speech, in which he stated his objection to the reduction of the duty on butter and cheese, a proposal which he attributed to hostility to the agricultural interest. The bill was then read a second time, no division taking place.

The discussions on the subsequent stages were marked by unabated hostility on the part of the Opposition. The Duke of Richmond, previously to the House going into committee on the bill, presented petitions from certain silk-weavers at Macclesfield and from Spitalfields, praying to be heard by counsel against the clause by which their interests were affected. The petitioners undertook to prove that the proposed duty on foreign silks, so far from being equal to 15 per cent., did not, on many descriptions, exceed 9 per cent. The Duke of

Wellington strenuously opposed the motion, observing that they could not make any alteration in the details of the bill without an infraction of the settled rules of proceeding, which had existed for more than 200 years, as between the two Houses. The consequence of making alterations in Committee in the money clauses of bills of supply and of custom, had invariably been, not only the loss of the bills, but afterwards, in point of fact, entirely to paralyse the proceedings of Parliament. It was useless to allow counsel to come forward and make statements, while their lordships knew that the arguments could be of no avail in inducing them to alter the details.

The Duke of Richmond, who was ever quick in finding out a weak point in the argument of his opponent, readily seized upon the doctrine laid down by his former chief, and, with some warmth, replied, that if such was to be the constitution of Parliament, it was a mere farce to ask their lordships to consider a bill, while at the same time they were told that they could not alter it!

“Better,” said his Grace, “would it be to alter the Standing Order, and declare that the consent of the Queen and the Commons is sufficient to pass a measure. If that argument had been used by a young man just come from school, I should have taken no notice of it; but when it comes from my noble friend, the noble and gallant duke, I am bound to protest against it, and I certainly feel it my duty to take the sense of the House on this motion.”

The year 1847 was a memorable one, for actual

starvation prevailed in Ireland. Three-fourths of the potato crop, the food of millions, had failed, while at least one-third of the oat crop, generally exported, was deficient. The loss on these two crops in 1846 was eight millions and a-half tons of potatoes, and four millions two hundred thousand quarters of oats.

From the report of the Commissioners of Poor-Law Inquiry, made in 1835, it appeared that there were then between eleven and twelve hundred thousand agricultural labourers in Ireland, whose average earnings did not exceed from two shillings to half-a-crown a week; that one-half of that number were destitute of work during nine months in the year, and that these with their families made a total of nearly two millions and a-half of human beings out of work, and in distress, nine months in the year. One of the witnesses told the Commissioners that "the county of Mayo alone could furnish beggars for all England." It was said by the Royal Commission, over which Lord Devon presided, that these people were the worst housed, the worst fed, and the worst clothed of any in Europe; that they lived in mud cabins in a filthy state, littered with straw; that their food consisted of dry potatoes, of which they were often obliged to stint themselves to one meal; sometimes a little milk or herring might afford them variety, but they were more often driven to sea-weed and wild herbs. Rags and famine were literally their fate. These were the ordinary circumstances of Ireland, to which were added pestilence and death. In the south and west the population was hourly decreasing, and at Skibbereen, in the county of Cork, ten thousand

persons had died in the union. The natural result of this most painful state of affairs was an increase of crime, which was now carried on to a frightful degree. Agrarian outrages had given way to burglary and high-way robbery.

Two bad harvests in England had, also, greatly aggravated the distress of the agriculturists. With a view of relieving the famishing population of Ireland, committees were formed under the sanction of the Government to levy rates, to receive subscriptions, and to be furnished with grants, to carry out the charitable scheme; and a Queen's Letter was issued early in January for making collections for Ireland and Scotland, which was cheerfully responded to by all classes, from the magnificent donors of thousands of pounds, down to the humble widow's mite.

Another event occurred early in the year—the death of Daniel O'Connell, the uncompromising champion of the Roman Catholic body, the daring leader of the Repeal of the Union party, the friend of civil and religious liberty, and who, in private life, was esteemed, loved, and respected by all who had the good fortune to come within the circle of his acquaintance. An epigram, which we believe has never appeared in print, was much talked of at the time it was made, and as the wit of it will make up for the sly hit at the agitator, we insert it:—

“Do Justice to Ireland,” bold Wellington cries,

To his country thus constant and true :

“Do Justice to Ireland,” O'Connell replies ;

“Arrah ! then, *I'll be hanged* if you do !”

The loss of the agitator was little felt, however, for he had outlived any celebrity he had possessed, and the pertinacious attacks made on him by "*Punch*," had ended in making him ridiculous, which is always fatal to a public man. Now that the exacerbation has passed away, all parties are combined to agree that O'Connell was of some use to his country, for his incessant diatribes naturally drew the attention of the Government to those practical reforms which Ireland needed. But to return to our more especial object.

That the Duke of Richmond could introduce satire into his arguments will be seen from the happy manner in which he replied to Lord Monteaule, when the "Distilling and Brewing from Sugar Bills" were introduced into the House of Lords by the Earl of Clarendon:—

"His noble friend," said his Grace, "thought this measure of no importance, and if the bill were to have no effect, if it were not to be beneficial to the colonists or to any one class of people in this country, this formed an additional reason for a committee of inquiry. Nothing could be more dangerous than passing measures, which even the proposers admitted would be of no benefit at all. His noble friend said that he would oppose inquiry on this bill, but then there was another bill coming on which he would refer to a committee. Did not both bills come from the same shop? If one of the bills was admitted to be the fit subject for inquiry, might they not fairly assume that on the other side his noble friend, Lord Stanley, was right, and that the noble Earl, the President of the Board of Trade,

was wrong? It was true that last year they had been beaten by the Free-Trade mania, which he hoped was fast disappearing among the thinking part of the community, but last year they had been beaten by circumstances of which he need not then remind the House; now they had a manly and open declaration, and he better liked the open and manly declarations of opponents than the insidious betrayals of friends; but, having those declarations, it was a duty they owed to the agricultural interest, not to allow any bill to pass without a full inquiry into its details, and without securing that interest from being again betrayed. If they really wished it, he would tell them how to procure wholesome and cheap beer for the labouring classes of this country—let them get rid of the malt tax. It was no prejudice on the part of the working classes of this country, to prefer a good article made of malt and hops; but let them see what stuff they were going to give according to the evidence of one of their own friends, Mr. Martineau, a partner in Whitbread's house. They had brewed beer from sugar; Mr. Martineau said that every fair trial had been given; but when he was asked whether the beer was good or bad? his reply was 'very bad,' although they gave it every advantage of the best materials and the best season. The witness stated that this was in 1807, that the firm tried to use sugar in 1800 and 1807; that the malt in 1800 was enormously dear, and the quality miserably bad—he never knew so bad a year; but still they were unable to use sugar, because it made such bad beer. Then, were Members of Parliament to go to the

hustings, and say to the people—‘ we promise you cheap bread, which you have not got, and now we promise you cheap beer,’ and let the unfortunate men find when they tasted it, that it half poisoned them ?

“ How could the country be expected to respect the decisions of Parliament, if these matters were not to be examined into ? He (the Duke of Richmond) begged to assure the Government that he should not move for a Select Committee for the purpose of defeating the bill ; if the case stated on behalf of the bill that night should be proved, he should feel it his duty to vote for it ; but he should like to learn, before he voted for it, that he was not poisoning half the population. Surely this, the least urgent of the measures proposed by the Government, might safely be postponed for two or three days, or a week at most. He had always been an advocate for inquiry ; it tended to satisfy the minds of the people, where it did not unsettle for any length of time any great branch of trade or manufactures, or the agriculture of the country.

“ When inquiry into the Navigation Laws was asked for, both mover and seconder declared themselves hostile to those laws ; those who asked for inquiry now declared themselves not hostile to the bill, but only anxious to have it proved to be safe ; and the Government was about to refuse inquiry to those who came in a friendly manner, after thus granting it to a set of free traders, who would, if they could, destroy the Navigation Laws, and thereby render England a secondary power among the maritime nations of the world.”

Another amusing speech was made by the Duke,

when the Earl of Ellesmere moved the second reading of the Factory Bill. After some introductory remarks, he proceeded to urge his objections to the bill in the following manner :—

“ Although his noble and learned friend (Lord Brougham) had stated that the operatives were not in favour of this bill, no less than 295,000 had petitioned for it ; and he believed there were not a dozen who had petitioned against it. The noble and learned lord declared also, that an agricultural labourer of 45 was not so strong as one of their lordships at 70 ; but he could produce labourers in Sussex of the age of 45, who would carry every one of their lordships out of that House ; and when it was said that they laboured from six o'clock in the morning till eight at night, during harvest, he must ask why they did so ? Because it was task work ; and so far from going home to meals, the agricultural labourer sat on the sunny side of the hedge, and ate his meat, and drank good beer, and would drink more of it if the malt-tax were repealed. Then the noble and learned lord said that the agricultural labourer had no chance of clothes. Why, where had the noble lord been living ? Had he ever been within an agricultural labourer's cottage ? He very much doubted it. He (the Duke of Richmond) wished they were better off ; but if they were badly off, was that any reason why they should allow hundreds of thousands of other labourers to be destroyed ? The right reverend prelate (the Bishop of London) had so ably stated the reasons for this Bill, that he would not enter into any details ; but he trusted that their lordships would not

turn a deaf ear to the prayers of so large a portion of the operatives. No one in the country disliked the Anti-Corn Law League more than he did; but he knew the value of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures going together; one great cause of his opposing Free Trade was, that it would limit manufactures, and get rid of the home market; and, while he disliked the League, he had a great respect and regard for the intelligent manufacturers and operatives of this country."

Upon being asked during the debate by the Earl of Clarendon, whether he could consent to a law that should limit the work of the agricultural labourers one-sixth part of their day's labour, his Grace gave the following emphatic answer:—

"My reply to the noble Earl is, that if one-half of the agricultural labourers died from excess of labour, as the manufacturing labourers do, I should certainly agree to a law that limited their labour."

Resolutions for the suspension of the Corn and Navigation Laws, and bills founded on them, having passed the House of Commons, were taken up to the House of Lords, where they met with a severe struggle; the Duke of Richmond, and other noble Lords, opposing them on Protection principles, but without success, as Lord Stanley's amendment was negatived 37 to 25.

The next subject of importance brought before the House of Lords was a Bill for Limiting the Hours of Labour in Factories; and the Duke of Richmond gave it, as was expected, from his naturally humane character, his unqualified support; he felt with the noble mover that "it had sprung from the stern experience of the

husband and the father, from the general feeling and opinions of the working classes, and from the tendency of steam-machinery to attract to its service the continuous labour of the weaker, both in respect of age and sex."

The Limited Enlistment Bill having passed the Lower House, the second reading of it was moved by Earl Grey in the Upper House, and warmly supported by the "hero of a thousand battles;" but it was equally warmly opposed by his former aide-de-camp, who thought that there was no necessity for a change, and foresaw the greatest difficulties from the measure.

The session of that *annus mirabilis*, 1848, opened with a motion by Lord G. Bentinck on February 3, "For a Select Committee to inquire into the present condition and prospects of the interests connected with, and dependent on, sugar and coffee planting in Her Majesty's East and West Indian possessions and Mauritius, and to consider whether any, and what, measures can be adopted by Parliament for their relief." The Committee was granted, witnesses of every class connected with the subject,—merchants, planters, distillers, brokers, Members of Parliament, Secretaries of State, East India Directors,—gave their evidence in the most lucid manner; and, after a searching inquiry into the whole business, the report was agreed to, and Lord George triumphed.

He did so at a heavy sacrifice. His ambition had been for years to win the Derby; but, in order to devote his whole energies to the political career he so suddenly embraced, he had parted with his racing stud. His

horse, Surplice, won the Derby, or, as Disraeli called it, so graphically, the "Blue ribbon of the turf." But he recovered from his disappointment the following day, when his casting vote carried Sir Thomas Birch's resolution for a 10*s.* differential duty,—and he triumphantly exclaimed, "We have saved the colonies : it is the knell of free trade !"

After the Iron Duke had successfully stopped the desires of our Chartists to follow the example of continental barricade-builders, the Marquis of Lansdowne brought in a Bill for conferring on Ministers ample powers to be exercised on their responsibility, for a limited time, and in certain cases to compel the departure of persons coming to England, not from the accustomed motives of business and pleasure ; as crowds of foreigners were resorting to this country, whose object could not be ascertained, and Government thought it their duty to stand prepared against every contingency. In addressing the House in support of this Bill, the Duke of Richmond expressed some little regret that the measure was not of a more stringent nature.

On the 5th of September, this unprecedented long session, of nearly ten months, terminated by Her Majesty in person proroguing the Parliament.

The Queen opened Parliament on the 2nd of February, 1849, when the usual address was moved in the House of Lords. Lord Stanley moved an amendment to the following effect : "We regret, however, to be compelled humbly to represent to your Majesty, that neither your Majesty's relations with foreign powers, nor the state of the revenue, nor the condition of the commercial and

manufacturing interests, are such as to entitle us to address you in the language of congratulation ; but that a large portion of the agricultural and colonial interests of the empire are labouring under a state of progressive depression, calculated to excite serious apprehension and anxiety.”

The Duke of Richmond declared his strong opposition to the Ministerial policy, especially to the proposed reductions in the army and navy. He expressed his confidence that the system of protection to agriculture, of which the landed interest had been so unjustly deprived, must be soon re-established. On a division, the majority for Ministers was only two. On the 24th of April, the Marquis of Lansdowne rose to move that the thanks of the House should be presented to the Governor-General of India, the Commander-in-Chief, and the officers and soldiers of the army in India, for their services in the late actions, which gave the Duke of Richmond an opportunity of expressing how gratifying it was to him, as an old soldier, to hear from the Duke of Wellington's lips that the result of the operations had been brilliant in the extreme, reiterating his hearty concurrence in the vote of thanks. On the 15th of May, 1849, the Duke of Richmond, in a most able speech, brought forward the question of agricultural distress, and in the course of his address drew a lamentable picture of the ruin which had been brought on the agricultural part of the population by free-trade measures. The Government now said that they could not retrace their steps, and for that reason the farmers wished to see another administration. For his part,

although the resignation of the Ministry was sometimes held up *in terrorem* over the country, he wished they would carry their threat into execution and resign, for he was convinced that there would be no difficulty in finding better men to fill their places. After pointing out the increase of paupers, referring to the number of labourers out of employment, and showing how much the county rates had increased, he concluded by saying :

“The English agricultural labourer was an honest, good-hearted man, but he could not long continue so if he were not employed. In many villages, at the present moment, he knew that men were only employed one or two days in the week, and earned only two shillings. If Parliament did not seriously consider the subject, with the view of relieving agricultural distress, he looked forward with feelings of the deepest anxiety as to the results which might be produced affecting the peace and tranquillity of the country.”

Parliament met on the 31st of January, 1850, when, during the debate on the address, the Duke of Richmond again came forward to support the cause he had so much at heart. Referring to some remarks that fell from the Earl of Carlisle, his Grace warned him that the time might come when it would be fortunate for him to be shorn of his honours. To speak plainly, he thought the agricultural interest had been slighted in the speech from the throne, which, as he understood it, did not even admit that the agriculturists were suffering from distress. The noble earl had talked of the cheapness of provisions, but had omitted to say anything about wages, which had fallen excessively in some dis-

tricts, in which hundreds of labourers were out of work. It was surprising to hear the noble lord talk of the courage which their lordships displayed in passing the free-trade measure. It was notorious that their lordships were influenced by an opposite motive—they yielded to the pressure from without. Let it not be supposed that agricultural agitation would terminate with the year 1850. The farmers were men who, when once aroused, would never cease exerting themselves until they obtained redress for their injuries. Every hustings in the country would be made a battle-field, on which they would steadily, but without violence of language, state their grievances, and demand justice.

The amendment, moved by Lord Stradbroke, to the effect that the various classes connected with the cultivation of the soil were labouring under severe distress, mainly applicable to recent legislative enactments, aggravated by the pressure of local taxation, was lost by a majority of 49. When the amendment of the Factory Act Bill was brought into the House of Lords, the Duke moved an amendment, of which he had given notice, with the object of limiting the hours of labour for women and children to ten hours a day. This was opposed by the Marquis of Lansdowne and the Earl of Granville, the Duke of Richmond declaring that if Ministers should throw the Bill overboard, he would himself take it up in that House, and should easily prevail on his friend, Lord John Manners, to bring it before the House of Commons. On a division, the amendment was negatived, Ministers obtaining a majority of 13. On the third reading, his Grace renewed

his opposition to the Bill, but without success; and on the 15th of August, Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person.

When Parliament assembled in 1851, the Duke of Richmond was at his post as usual, and ready to act as champion for the landed proprietors. During the discussion on the address, his Grace said :

“ He was not surprised at the result of free trade, for it was plain that the British farmer, hampered as he was with taxation, could not compete successfully with foreigners. They had not been told that the prosperity enjoyed at present by the manufacturing interest would ultimately reach agriculturists; but he wished to know what was to become of the tenant farmers of England, whilst they were waiting for that. They were, he was happy to say, at the present moment loyal; but he declared to Heaven that he should wonder if they long remained so. With respect to the Papal aggression, it had not at all taken him by surprise. He had opposed Roman Catholic emancipation to the last; and their Lordships now saw the results to which that unfortunate measure had led. Under these circumstances, and highly approving Lord John Russell’s letter to the Bishop of Durham, he would content himself with saying that he trusted the Government would pass measures to restrain the Papal aggression, and to relieve the land. He had spent a great deal of money on improvements, but he would never spend another farthing unless protection were restored, for he did not at all approve of the system of sending good money after bad.”

The disturbed state of France in 1851, was such as

to cause some apprehension in England, and the British ministry prepared to enroll the Militia. Lord John Russell's measure, however, appeared so defective, that upon a motion of Lord Palmerston (who retaliated upon his former colleague) the bill was thrown out, and Lord John and his colleagues resigned in disgust. They were succeeded by Lord Stanley, who, in consequence of the death of his father, had recently become Earl of Derby, and who, deriving experience from the past, introduced a measure which was accepted. When the bill went up to the House of Lords, the Duke of Wellington gave it his strenuous support; an extract from his speech will prove how his heart warmed whenever the profession of arms was discussed:

“I am certainly the last man,” said the veteran, “to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined or with undisciplined, or with half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops you are acting with a certain degree of confidence, that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence. On the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to do. But we must look a little at the state in which we stand at the present moment. This country is at peace with the whole world, except in certain parts on the frontiers of its own distant dominions, with which operations of war are carried on by means of our peace establishment. You are now providing for a peace establishment; you are at peace with the whole world; you are providing

for a peace establishment. I say, that peace establishment ought to have been effectually provided for long ago. If it had been, we should not have needed now to be told, as we have been, by the noble Marquis, about the number of days and weeks it will take to train the Militia recruits ; or about the futility of expecting anything to the purpose from troops with their three weeks', or their six weeks', or what time it may be, training.

“ We have never, up to this moment, maintained a proper peace establishment—that's the real truth ; and we are now in that position in which we find ourselves forced to form a peace establishment, such as this country requires. I tell you, for the last ten years, you have never had in your army more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty of your stations in the different parts of the world. Such is the state of your peace establishment at the present time ; such has been the state of your peace establishment for the last ten years. You have been carrying on war in all parts of the globe, in the different stations, by means of this peace establishment. You have now a war at the Cape, still continuing, which you carry on with your peace establishment ; yet, on that peace establishment I tell you, you have not more men than are enough to relieve the sentries at the different stations in all parts of the world, and to relieve the different regiments in the tropics and elsewhere, after services there—of how long do you suppose?—of, in some cases, twenty-five years, in none less than ten years ; and, after which you give them five years at home, nominally ; for it is only nominally in a great many cases.

“There were, for instance, the last troops who were sent out to the Cape. Instead of keeping them five years at home, after their long service abroad, I was obliged to send them out after they had only been sixteen months at home. My Lords, I tell you, you have never had a proper peace establishment all this time. We are still at peace with all the world. Let us, then, have a peace establishment—our constitutional peace establishment; and when you have got that, see what you will do next. The noble Marquis says he thinks he should prefer an army of reserve. An army of reserve! What is an army of reserve? Is it an army to cost less than £40 each man, all round? If he thinks that possible, I tell him that we can have no such thing.

“But what I desire—and I believe it is a desire the most moderate that can be formed—is, that you shall give us, in the first instance, the old constitutional peace establishment. When we have got that, then you may do what you please. The noble Marquis says, very truly, that these 50,000, or 80,000, or 150,000 Militia men won't be fit for service in six months, or twelve months, or eighteen months; but I say they'll be fit, at all events, for some service; and certainly they'll enable us to employ in the field others who are fit for service; and in time they will themselves become fit for service.

“In the last war we had in service several regiments of English Militia, and they were in as high a state of discipline, and as fit for service, as any men I ever saw in my life. It was quite impossible to have a body of troops in higher order, or in higher discipline, or more

fit for discipline, than these bodies of British Militia were at the commencement of the present century, up to 1810. They were as fine troops as ever were seen ; and I say, no doubt, these bodies of 50,000, or 80,000 men, whatever the number may be, will be so too, in the course of time.

“ Everything has its beginning, and this is a commencement. You must make a beginning here, and see that it will take some months before you can form reserve regiments. The armies of England, who have served the country so well—are your Lordships so mistaken as to suppose that they were ever composed of more than one-third of real British subjects, of natives of this island? No such thing. Look at the East Indies ; not more than one-third of the soldiers there are British subjects. Look at the Peninsula ; not more than one-third of the men employed there were British soldiers. Yet, I beg your Lordships to observe what services those soldiers performed. They fought great battles against the finest troops in the world : they went prepared to face everything—Aye ! and to be successful against everything, or this country would not have borne with them. Not one-third of those armies were British troops, but they were brave troops ; and not merely brave—for I believe every man is brave—but well-organised troops.

“ Take the battle of Waterloo—look at the number of British troops at that battle. I can tell your Lordships that in that battle there were sixteen battalions of Hanoverian Militia, just formed, under the command of the late Hanoverian ambassador here—Count Kielmansegge—who behaved most admirably ; and there were many

other foreign troops who nobly aided us in that battle—avowedly the battle of giants—whose operations helped to bring about the victory which was followed by the peace of Europe, that has now lasted for thirty-six or thirty-seven years. I say that, however much I admire highly disciplined troops—and most especially British disciplined troops—I tell you, you must not suppose that others cannot become so too; and no doubt, if you begin with the formation of corps under this Act of Parliament, they will in time become what their predecessors in the Militia were; and if ever they do become what the former Militia were, you may rely upon it they will perform all the services they may be required to perform. I recommend you to adopt this measure as the commencement of a completion of the peace establishment. It will give you a constitutional force: it will not be at first, or for some time, everything we would desire, but by degrees it will become what you want—an efficient auxiliary force to the regular army.”*

The Duke of Richmond had the highest opinion of the Militia, and did his utmost to encourage that force. Whether he imbibed Wellington’s opinion, “that the application of steam to maritime operations had rendered England assailable on all parts of its coasts, and that while these coasts were, as was well known, almost wholly unfortified, they were at the same time almost destitute of troops,” we cannot take upon ourselves to say positively; but, brought up as he was in the school of the great warrior, we think such was probably the case.

* In the course of this memoir, it will be seen how the Duke of Richmond seconded his old Chief in supporting the Militia.

While considering the possibility of an invasion, Wellington, after declaring that he had made repeated attempts to successive administrations, to rouse them from their lethargy, pronounced that he had reconnoitred the whole of the south-eastern coast, over and over again, and the result of his labour was that, excepting under the fire of Dover Castle, there was not a spot where infantry would find any difficulty in landing: while there were also many small harbours or mouths of rivers, each without defence, of which an enemy, having thus landed, might take possession, and so establish his communication with France; and, as a soldier, he pronounced that there was no mode of protection from this danger except by an army in the field capable of meeting that enemy, aided by all the means of fortification which experience in war could suggest, and yet the whole force to be found in the United Kingdom would not be found sufficient, if war should break out, for the mere defence and occupation of the works constructed for the defence of our dockyards and naval arsenals, without leaving a single man disposable.

According to Wellington's calculations, as expressed in his letter to Sir John Burgoyne, the Inspector-General of Fortifications, 65,000 men at least would be required as garrisons for half-a-dozen of our principal dockyards and naval arsenals, whereas we had but 5,000 troops. Nor were his opinions confined to home service; for, at a later period, he declared that, for many years in the regular army there were not more men than enough to relieve the sentries on duty at our stations in different parts of the world. Under this somewhat gloomy, though

we fear true, view of the case, he urged the importance of embodying the Militia, and strengthening the belt of the country with fortifications in the following terms :—

“The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different administrations to decide, which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace for the last eighty years, is to raise, embody, organise, and discipline the Militia, of the same numbers for each of the three kingdoms, uniting, as during the late war. This would give a mass of organised force amounting to about 150,000 men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This alone would enable us to establish the strength of our army. This, with an augmentation of the force of the regular army, which would not cost £400,000, would put the country on its legs in respect to personal force, and I would engage for its defence, old as I am. But, as we stand now, and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defence, we are not safe for a week after the declaration of war.”

He concluded a most effective speech in these emphatic words :—

“I am bordering on seventy-seven years of age, passed in honour. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being the witness of the tragedy which I cannot persuade my cotemporaries to take measures to avert.”

When the Conservatives came into power again, the Earl of March was appointed Chief Commissioner of the Poor Law Board, in the place of Mr. Sotheron Estcourt, who was made Secretary of State for the Home Department. This post the heir of the Richmonds held so long

as Lord Derby's administration lasted; and no public servant ever did his duty more effectively or conscientiously. Punctual in his attendance, affable to all around him, and fully competent for his task, he was beloved by his colleagues, and respected by the public, who saw in him the worthy son of an excellent sire.

We may close this section of our work here, as the Duke's parliamentary career offers little noteworthy during later years. We shall, however, revert to special subjects, to which he devoted his attention.

In debate, the Duke seldom, if ever, gave way to anger, not even during the most excited times, when men's passions were roused to the highest pitch. We cannot conclude this chapter more appropriately than by quoting a conversation that took place in the House of Lords.

When the Marquis of Bristol declared, after denouncing the Reform Bill as a complete and sweeping revolution, that he would assert solemnly in the face of Heaven and earth, that rather than give his assent to it he would consent to lay his head upon the block, he proceeded to censure his Grace in no measured language. The Duke of Richmond, however, calmly replied,—

“It was far from his wish to say or do anything uncivil or uncourteous to that noble Marquis, either in that House or out of that House. Indeed, he was not, he hoped, in the habit of acting in that manner towards any noble peer, and he was sorry that the noble Marquis should have lost his temper in consequence of a misapprehension of what had fallen from him. The noble Marquis talked of repelling his observations with indignation. If there was one thing beyond another in which he prided him-

self, it was upon never losing his temper in that House. He would not be provoked to do anything towards the noble Marquis, or any one else in that House, that he ought not to do. Again, he repeated, that he should be sorry to say anything uncourteous towards the noble Marquis, at the same time that he begged that noble Marquis would in future keep his indignation to himself."

CHAPTER XII.

THE DUKE'S OPINIONS—CONDITION OF TENANT FARMERS—THE CORN-LAW QUESTION—HISTORY OF THE CORN-LAWS—MISCELLANEOUS SPEECHES.

As the Duke of Richmond remained a staunch Protectionist to the last, and time made no change in his feelings, it will not be beside our purpose if we bring together extracts from speeches which he made on several public occasions, in explanation of his views and wishes.

On May 1, 1849, a meeting was held at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle-street, convened by persons engaged in agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and shipping interests, favourable to the principle of moderate, just, and equal protection to every interest of the State. At this meeting the Duke of Richmond was called to the chair, and, in his opening speech, spoke as follows:—

“ He had to congratulate the friends of the great principle of protection on the large and influential assembly he saw around him. He had ventured to take the chair on the present occasion, at a meeting of the citizens of London, not because he felt himself entitled to do so from any talent he possessed, but because, yielding to none in his desire to see fair, just, and adequate protection to British industry, he felt he might be considered lukewarm in the cause if he did not occupy the situation which he then had the honour to fill.

“It was well known to most of them that he had ever advocated protection, not to the agriculturists only ; he had advocated its extension to the manufacturing classes as well, and had sought it no less for the silk-weaver than for the corn-grower. He felt that this country could not long continue in the course she had been pursuing, of securing the prosperity of the foreigner at the expense of the Englishman, and therefore he thought it would be desirable to see whether they could not associate the great interests of the country, the agricultural, commercial, colonial, aye, and the manufacturing interests too—because he held that with the exception of a small knot of Stockport and Manchester manufacturers, those interests must go hand in hand together.

“Great distress existed now among the agricultural interests. Would to Heaven he could say that it existed among them only. Go to the shopkeepers in the towns, great and small, and ask them what they have gained by free trade. The answer they would give would be a sufficient reply to the strongest advocate of free trade. But on the subject of protection to domestic industry, Parliament could, if it thought fit—and he said it must think fit—retrace their steps, and give fair, due, and moderate protection to those suffering interests. Let him call their attention for a moment to the subject of the Navigation Laws. He had already told them he thought Parliament could and must go back to protection ; but did they suppose they could repeal the Navigation Laws without crippling the defence of this country? If it was passed, we should be no longer

enabled to pride ourselves that foreign foes had never yet set foot upon our shores.

“The Government would immediately enter into treaties with other countries, and when they sought the re-establishment of the Navigation Laws, they would be met by the Minister of the day with the excuse, “I wish I could go back to the old system, but I cannot, because I have entered into treaties with other countries.” It became every man then to resist so destructive a proposal. It was not necessary for him to tell them that, without our commercial marine, it would be impossible to man the fleets of this country.

“There were, to be sure, some people who told them they were to have ‘Universal Peace Associations,’ and that therefore our navy would not be wanted any longer. Was there ever such humbug? Before he trusted the gentlemen of these ‘Universal Peace Associations,’ he would give them a little experiment to try their hands upon. Let them just go to Ireland, and see if they could keep the different factions from fighting at Donybrook Fair. Come what would, he for one would never vote for the destruction of the wooden walls of Old England.”

Again in April, 1849, when His Royal Highness the Prince Consort laid the foundation of the new buildings of the farm-school at Redstone Hill, Reigate, for the reformation of juvenile offenders, intrusted to the care of the Philanthropic Society, and of which institution the Duke of Richmond was President, after proposing the health of the Queen at a dinner which followed the interesting ceremony, his Grace said:—

“He was sure every sincere friend of the institution would join with him heartily in drinking the health of His Royal Highness Prince Albert on the present occasion; he felt sure that all must feel grateful to him for having undergone the inconvenience of coming here to lay the foundation of the farm-school. It was with great delight that he found His Royal Highness going about from one part of the country to the other, and giving his countenance not to political associations: his Grace had no objection himself to political associations; but he thought that in the station in which the Prince moved, it was most creditable to him that he came forward as a Christian to do the best he could for the land of his adoption.”

Later in the evening the Duke proposed “Prosperity to the Philanthropic Society.” “The large and influential gathering which he saw around him made it unnecessary for him to say much, and he would take it for granted that they all wished well to the institution. The society had been established for somewhere about sixty years, and its operations had been attended with great success. Even, however, had the benefit which flowed from the institution been much smaller, it was a cause in which they were bound to persevere.” His Grace dilated on the noble objects which the society had in view, and adverted to the success which had attended similar institutions abroad, and particularly at Mettray in France.

It is manifestly as impossible, as it would prove wearisome for us, to recapitulate all the public meetings the Duke attended, or the sentiments ex-

pressed by him, all bearing on the same subject. As a specimen we will select a speech the Duke delivered at a meeting of the Society for the Protection of Agriculture and British Industry, in 1849. On being called to the chair, he thus addressed his audience—

“Gentlemen, you are aware that this is the anniversary meeting, and therefore it will not be necessary for me to detain you at any length in introducing the report which the council has drawn up; because I hope and trust that no one here present—that not a single farmer in England will suppose for an instant that I have in the slightest degree withdrawn from the cause of Protection. I still think that every constitutional means ought to be used to induce the Legislature to reverse that step which I say has produced the greatest possible ruin to all classes of the people of this country.

“We continue here to receive the most lamentable accounts of the ruin which has overtaken too many of those honest farmers who have for years exerted their talents and industry honestly and usefully in the cultivation of the soil of the country. What is the use of calling upon them to lay out more capital, when from the capital they have already expended they cannot get back a single penny in return. If it be wished that in this country there shall be an improvement in agriculture, from the outlay of capital—an improvement which, I for one, am quite willing to see—show these men that they can get remuneration for their capital, and there will be no lack of such expenditure.

“I find that in most parts of the country there exists lamentable distress amongst the agricultural labourers;

and I find that a large proportion—by far the greater proportion—of those who heretofore have been able to maintain themselves and their families by the sweat of their brow, are now out of work, because the farmers cannot employ them with present prices : and we find also, and we deeply regret it, that our workhouses are full or fast filling with these honest men, who only ask for employment, that they may themselves maintain their families : not only are the labourers placed in this miserable and degraded situation, but at the same time this fast filling of the workhouses and the increased number of out-door recipients of relief have augmented the poor-rates which the owners and occupiers of real property have to pay.

“These are evils which we feared from the first would result from the doctrines of the mad theorists of Manchester, and which, I believe, must interest all classes in this country, as all are in the deepest state of depression—the ship-owners, the ship-builders, and all other classes of domestic industry alike suffering ; and I think that all will agree with us that, as Englishmen, we are bound to come forward and call upon the Legislature to retrace its steps and restore protection, and thus check the suffering and distress which at present exist.”

In the same year the Duke attended the Royal Agricultural Society of England, then assembled at Norwich, when he again dwelt at length upon the subject of Protection to the landed interest. In addition to the above and similar meetings, his Grace was constant in his attendance at the Smithfield Club Cattle Show, where he usually presided at the annual dinner, and kept even

the unsuccessful exhibitors in good humour by his courtesy, affability, and cordiality.

To these views the Duke adhered to his death, and in all probability was the last of the Protectionists. As Protection is now a thing of the past, and not even the most consistent Conservative dare evoke its manes, we may be permitted to trace back the history of the great Corn-law question, which has, before the presence of graver matters, doubtless passed from the memory of our readers.

The first incident connected with the great Bread question that need interest us, is a bill framed in 1753, in consequence of numerous petitions presented by the exporters, who complained that the bounties were not paid, and prayed for a proper provision for that purpose. A bill was, accordingly, brought in to the effect that interest after the rate of three per cent. should be allowed on every debenture for the bounty, on the exportation of corn, payable by the Receiver-general or cashier of the Customs, until the principal could be discharged out of such customs or duties as are appropriated for the payment of such bounties." But the historian from whom we quote is careful to add:—

"This premium on the exportation of corn ought not to be granted except when the lowness of the market-price in Great Britain proves that there is a superabundance in the kingdom; otherwise the exporter will find his account in depriving our own labourers of their bread, in order to supply our rivals at an easier rate: for example, suppose wheat in England should sell for twenty shillings a quarter, the merchant might export into France, and afford it to the people of that kingdom for eighteen

shillings, because the bounty on exportation would, even at that rate, afford him a considerable advantage."

His fears were fully borne out; for in 1756 the dearth of corn, produced to a considerable extent by the shameful system of engrossing, was so severely felt by the lower classes, that in Shropshire and Warwickshire disturbances broke out, and the populace, aided by the colliers, seized all the provisions they could find, pillaging without distinction millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the country gentlemen, aided by their tenants and dependents. Disturbances also broke out among the colliers employed in the Forest of Dean, while in Cumberland subscriptions to a large amount were collected for the relief of the poor. At a counsel held at St. James's, the Government issued a proclamation calculated to lull the popular effervescence, in which it was stated that the laws against forestallers and engrossers of corn should be put into prompt and energetic execution.

In 1804, soon after Pitt had resumed his place at the helm, recruiting his new administration from the ranks of Addington, a discussion on the corn-laws took place. Many were found to advocate the system of free-trade, leaving the prices to find their own level; but in consequence of a report of the Commons, it was considered expedient to adopt new legislative regulations. From a document produced, it appeared that the price of corn from 1791 to 1803 had been irregular, though yielding on an average, a fair remuneration to the grower; the effect of high prices had been to stimulate industry and bring into cultivation large tracts of barren land; which,

added to the last two favourable seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to discourage agriculture, unless immediate relief were given; and therefore although within the last thirteen years no less a sum than 30,000,000*l.* had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of corn, it was now proposed to annex a bounty to exportation. A bill was therefore introduced and passed into a law, denominated by Lord Stanhope, "a bill to starve the poor in allowing exportation when the price of wheat was at or below forty-eight shillings a quarter; and importation when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed sixty-six shillings."

In 1815, when all Europe was preparing for war, and the four great Powers had signed a treaty to keep constantly in the field 150,000 men until Napoleon should be driven out of France and the legitimate monarch of those realms restored, a most alarming riot broke out in London, in consequence of the high price of bread. After a long and expensive campaign, the people fondly imagined that the price would be reduced; but the landed interest, feeling the weight of taxation pressing heavily upon them, were clamorous for a prohibitive duty on foreign grain. The subject had been amply discussed during the preceding season, and the result was an Act which allowed exportation without duty or bounty; but a bill for regulating importation was rejected, with a view to further inquiry.

Mr. Frederic Robinson, afterwards Earl of Ripon, next introduced a prohibitory duty, which suited the views of the corn-growers; and which was to the effect

that no wheat should be imported while the price of a quarter remained under eighty shillings in the United Kingdom ; but that it might be introduced from the British territories in North America when the price was so low as sixty-seven shillings ; and he founded his argument for the necessity of an alteration in the laws on the ground that it was highly impolitic to depend upon foreign supplies, which might fail us at the time of the greatest need, and that encouragement ought to be given to the British farmer to produce such crops as would preclude the necessity of importation.

The proposition was strenuously opposed by the Free-traders ; but notwithstanding their energetic efforts, backed by petitions numerously signed from the manufacturing and commercial towns, and the indication of popular feeling out of doors, the bill passed both Houses. An attempt was made by the Corporation of the City of London to induce the Prince Regent to withhold his royal assent from a measure universally condemned by the nation ; but the attempt was futile, as the heir to the throne felt himself called upon to support a measure introduced by his Ministers. The members of the Upper and Lower Houses, who, by their advocacy of the landholders' bill, had made themselves obnoxious to the populace, were insulted and maltreated, especially the mover Mr. Robinson and Lord Eldon, the family of the latter having been compelled to seek refuge in the British Museum. The result of these disturbances was the death of two individuals, who, though not engaged in the riot, were shot by the soldiery engaged in protecting the Museum. War was

now inevitable, and the minds of the people having been somewhat distracted from the distressed state of the country, the riots ceased. We have already passed the remainder of the fight between Protection and Free-trade under review in our pages, and it is a question which may henceforth be regarded as settled. The time has not yet arrived to judge fairly of the working of free-trade, as England, fortunately, has not been engaged in any great Continental war; but it is quite certain that the repeal of the corn-laws was inevitable at the period when it took place.

At the same time we are bound to honour the consistency with which the Duke of Richmond opposed a measure which, as we have seen, he considered fraught with the most dangerous consequences for the country. Although it is to be hoped that he will in the end prove to have been a false prophet, and we can imagine the pain with which he noticed his partisans fall off one by one, wearied with the unequal contest, we cannot refrain from the expression of our admiration at his conduct.

Hitherto we have only seen the Duke of Richmond under circumstances in which success was impossible for him. It will now be our pleasing duty to describe those parliamentary struggles with which his name will ever be inseparably connected, and in which he succeeded in gaining the victory, after many a tough skirmish.

CHAPTER XIII.

PENINSULAR MEDALS—THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—HIS DEFENCE OF
THE SOLDIER—HIS APPARENT INJUSTICE—WANT OF PRECEDENT—
THE DEBATE ON THE MEDAL—OPPOSITION—THE GENERAL ORDER.

WE are approaching a subject in which the Duke of Richmond took a very prominent part—that of granting war-medals to the brave soldiers who had fought and bled under Wellington during the long and harassing Peninsular campaign.

An attempt has been made to vindicate the Iron Duke's conduct in this matter, and we own that we should gladly view it in the same light as his panegyrists take. That Wellington was at heart the soldier's friend cannot be denied; he proved it on many occasions, and on none more prominently than when he proposed a vote of thanks to the army engaged in Afghanistan. He enumerated the difficulties Sale and other friends had to contend with; he gave a vivid sketch of the contests in which the troops had been engaged; he pointed out the courage Sale and Nott had displayed at Jellalabad and Candahar.

Again, in seconding Lord Ripon's motion for a vote of thanks to Sir Charles Napier and the army engaged in Scinde, he passed the highest encomium on his old comrade in arms. But the most memorable occasion was when the Duke of Wellington defended the hitherto

untarnished honour of a regiment to which the ominous word "panic" had unfortunately become attached.

"My Lords, it is impossible to describe to you the variety of circumstances which may occasion mistake or disarrangement, during an engagement, in the operations of any particular force at any particular moment. An inquiry into the circumstances has been instituted, and I have seen the report of that inquiry. It happens that these cavalry had to conduct their operations over a country much broken by ravines and rough jungles, which rendered it impossible for the troops to move in their usual regular order. It happened that the officer commanding the brigade of which this corps formed a part, was wounded in the head during the advance, and was obliged to quit the field. The officer next in command, being at a distance from the spot, was not aware that his commanding officer was obliged to withdraw from the field. Under these circumstances, the word of command was given by some person not authorised, and of whom no trace can be found; and some confusion took place which, from the crowd, and the circumstances of the moment, could not easily be remedied. But it was removed at last, and all were got in order, and the corps successfully performed its duty, as I and other noble lords around me have seen them perform it on other occasions. My Lords, these things may happen to any troops; but we whose fortune it has been to see similar engagements in the field, feel what must be felt by all your Lordships—that the character of a corps must not be taken from them from scraps in the newspapers; but the facts must be sought in the

report of the commander-in-chief and in the inquiry made by the proper parties—an inquiry very different to that made by the publishers of newspapers. The order was made, and it needs no one to be informed that a movement in retreat is not a movement in advance ; but your Lordships may be convinced, as I am, that the movement in retreat was one of those accidents which must occur occasionally, and that the corps to which it happened are as worthy of confidence then, as they have been since, as they were before, and as I hope they always will be.”

In the life of a hero like the Duke of Wellington, whose memory is imperishable with his countrymen, and whose name will descend to posterity as that of one “ who never advanced but to cover his arms with glory, and who never retreated but to eclipse the very glory of his advance—whose generous and lofty spirit inspired his troops with unbounded confidence, and taught them that the day of battle was ever the day of victory”—it almost compels us to find some little blemish connecting him with humanity. This blemish, we consider, was his opposition to the claim of his Peninsular troops for those marks of honour which were conferred on every man engaged at the battle of Waterloo.

The veterans of the Peninsular campaign felt acutely the slight offered them ; they considered the glories of Salamanca and Vittoria equal to those of June 18th ; they argued that the privations to which they had been exposed extended over six long years, while those endured in Belgium lasted but a few days ; and they felt the humiliation when they found that an empty

coat-sleeve was the only reward they need expect for the battles and sieges in Portugal and France, while every individual, even those not under fire, was decorated with a Waterloo medal.

The wound rankled deeply in the breasts of the neglected warriors, and though they might not openly express their discontent, they were sensitively alive to the humiliation thrust upon them by one who owed his honours to some extent to their achievements. When an application was made to Wellington that he should bring the claims of the Peninsular veterans before the throne, he declined to do so, on the plea that it was not his duty to give an unasked-for opinion to his sovereign on the subject, and hence the matter remained in abeyance. Although the slumbering ashes still smouldered, it was not till after the Affghan campaign and the China war, where medals were granted to all engaged, that the flame was fanned up again, and the patient long-suffering remnants of the Duke's finest army felt that the time had arrived for greater exertion on their part in a cause that had justice to recommend it.

At this moment their old comrade the Duke of Richmond came gallantly to their aid, as will be seen in the following extract we give from a recently published and valuable work,* which we quote, however, mainly for the sake of rectifying an error:—

“Fortunately for them one of their own body was a man of the highest rank and of considerable political influence, the Duke of Richmond; who, as a captain

* “The Life of the Duke of Wellington,” by C. D. Yonge.

in the 52nd, had been so severely wounded at Orthez, that he was forced to retire from his regiment, and who, fully sharing the discontent of his undecorated comrades, undertook to present a petition for them to the House of Lords, entreating the Peers to bring their case under the notice of Her Majesty, in the hope that their sovereign might thus be induced to confer on them the honour which they so greatly coveted."

This paragraph, while in other respects truthful, contains a serious error; for the wound received at Orthez had nothing to do with the Duke of Richmond's retirement from active service, and that retirement did not take place till after the battle of Waterloo, at which his Grace was present, as we have seen. We cannot take on ourself to assign the motive that induced a gallant soldier to resign a profession to which he had been so long and devotedly attached; but we have a strong impression that when he found his duties as a military man incompatible with those of a civilian, that the state of his health would prevent his going upon active and arduous service, that as a father of a family he had obligations to perform in his domestic career—he felt that to receive the pay of the country without being able to offer an equivalent, did not come up to his high sense of honour. Many would, we are aware, argue that past services rendered such a nice distinction unnecessary; and while we give credit to those who take this latter view of the subject, praise must not be withdrawn from others who see the subject in a different light.

In the Duke of Richmond, then, the Peninsular

soldiers found a powerful and strenuous advocate; but on bringing forward the question, he discovered, to his sincere regret, that his old chief, at that moment Commander-in-chief, opposed the petition. The Duke of Wellington frankly admitted that he had never mentioned or referred to the war in the Peninsula without praising the conduct of the claimants, but he contended that Parliament ought not to interfere in such a matter. He alluded to the refusal he had felt himself compelled to give, when called on to become the advocate of the petitioners, and, in fairness to the Duke of Wellington, we here insert his letters on the subject of medals, all of which tend to prove that he was ever influenced by what he considered to be a sense of justice. The first is addressed to the Earl of Liverpool:—

“ QUINTA DE ST. JOÃO, 11th July, 1811.

“ MY LORD,

“ I have had the honour of receiving your Lordship’s letter of the 22nd of June, in which your Lordship desires to have my opinion as to the restrictions which it may be expedient to put upon the grant of medals to British officers for distinguished merit displayed upon such occasions as the battles of Vimeira, Coruña, Talavera, and Barrossa.

“ My opinion has always been that the grant of a medal to an individual officer ought to have been founded originally, partly on the importance of the occasion or action which it was intended to commemorate, and partly on the share which the individual officer had had in the action to be commemorated; and

that medals should have been granted for important actions only, and to those engaged in them in a conspicuous manner, whatever might be their rank in the service.

“ It was decided, however, that medals should be granted on the same principle only, but following strictly the example of the grant of medals to the navy, notwithstanding that an action on shore is very different from an action at sea ; and the merit of the different classes of individuals are likewise entirely different. At the same time this principle was departed from in some of the grants made.

“ If the principle adopted in the grant of medals to the navy is adhered to in the grant of medals to the officers of the army, and the medals are to be granted to general officers and lieutenant-colonels commanding regiments on an occasion to be commemorated, because on a similar occasion they would be granted to admirals and captains of ships of the line, it is difficult to restrict the grant, or to make a selection of officers to whom they should be granted, to commemorate the battle of Busaco and Fuentes de Oñoro, if Government determine that these actions should be commemorated in that manner. If, however, that principle is departed from, it is not difficult to make out a list of the names of officers already reported to your Lordship who were at the head of corps or detachments upon these occasions, and who had a conspicuous share in the event which it is the intention of the Government to commemorate in this manner. It is not probable, however, that the adoption of this principle will decrease the number of

those to whom the honour would be granted ; but, as I have already represented to your lordship, I do not think this important; that which is important in the establishment of the principle on which the grant of this honour should be made, is, that every officer should feel that he shall receive the mark of distinction, if he should be in the place to distinguish himself, and should act in the manner to deserve to be distinguished, whatever may be his military rank. It may be contended by me that the officers of the British army do not require an honour of this description to stimulate their exertions, and that the grant of the medal is therefore useless ; but, however, those who contend for this principle must admit that a selection of those who have had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves in an action is a less objectionable mode of granting it, than the grant of it by classes, whether the individuals composing those classes have distinguished themselves or not.

“I have now the honour to inclose lists of the names of the officers who, on the principle of selection, ought, in my opinion, to receive medals for the battles of Busaco and Fuentes d’Oñor, if Government think proper to distinguish these battles by medals.

“In respect to the battle of Albuera, I was not there, and I am not able to give an opinion upon it. One brigade of the 4th division of infantry, however, was not in the action, nor Brigadier-General Madden’s brigade of cavalry. The brunt of the action was on the right ; but some of the corps of infantry, I believe, and certainly General Otway’s brigade of cavalry, on the left, were

not engaged. At all events, these troops were not engaged, as far as I understand, in a greater degree than the whole army were at Busaco, and every corps on the field at Fuentes d'Oñor.

“I mention these circumstances only to point out to your Lordship that, in every action on shore, however severe, there must be some to whose lot it does not fall to have an opportunity to distinguish themselves; and that the principle of selection, without reference to ranks, ought to be adopted in every instance of the grant of medals to the army.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.”

“The Earl of Liverpool.”

Again he addresses the same noble Lord:—

“RICHMOND, 1st October, 1811.

“MY DEAR LORD,

“Adverting to your Lordship's dispatch of the 3rd September, regarding the grant of medals to the officers of the army, it occurs to me that an improvement might still be made in the system: for instance, many officers, in the course of service, become entitled to two, or three, or more medals. In my opinion they should receive but one; but for every additional action deemed worthy of the medal, in which any officer having a medal should be present, he should be warranted to have the name of that action engraved on his medal, and that in that case the fresh medal for that action should be given to the officer next in command in the regiment who was present and distinguished in the action.

“Believe me, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.”

When an application was made by Sir Stapleton Cotton, now Lord Combermere, that a medal should be granted to the British cavalry for their services in the year 1810, previous to and after the battle of Busaco and in the year 1812, while covering the siege of Badajoz, Wellington, in forwarding the letter, thus threw cold water over the claim, and this conduct, regard being had to the services of that body under very trying circumstances, was deemed a great hardship. He wrote as follows to Earl Bathurst, who had succeeded the Earl of Liverpool :—

“ ST. JEAN DE LUZ, 22nd Nov., 1813.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ In sending you Sir Stapleton’s application for a cavalry medal, I must tell you that I stated to him the mode in which Government gave the orders that a medal should be given for any service, and the rules under which the list for any particular medal were made out under my direction ; and I told him that I had never applied for a medal for the troops for any service whatever, and that I did not think his application would be successful. He has desired, however, that it should go to your Lordship, and I send it.”

In 1815 we find the Duke of Wellington addressing the following letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of York :—

“ ORVILLE, 28th June, 1815.

“ SIR,

“ I have had the honour of receiving your Royal Highness’s letter of the 23rd instant, and I am highly flat-

tered by your Royal Highness's approbation, and gratified by your attention to this army.

"Your Royal Highness will see, from what happens every day, that our victory is decisive, and I hope we shall bring the concerns of this country to a satisfactory close, without striking another blow.

"I will immediately recommend to your Royal Highness certain officers for the third class of the Order of the Bath. At the same time I wish to suggest what follows for your Royal Highness's consideration.

"We have now 240 orders, that is, of the first and second class, of the Order of the Bath, for Admirals and General Officers; and, putting the navy out of the question, excepting to consider them as entitled to half of the number, the remainder will be for General Officers, or 120 orders for officers of that rank. Now, I would ask your Royal Highness whether there are now, or, considering the size of the British army, or the other calls there are upon that army for officers for other armies, it is possible that there can ever be in the British army 120 General Officers so distinguished as to merit the first and second class of the Order of the Bath. We cannot expect again to have so long or so extensive a system of warfare as we have had for the last twenty-two years; yet, even now, if Colonels and Lieutenant-Colonels, with five medals, had not got the second clasp of the order, your Royal Highness would have found it difficult to fill your 90 vacancies of that class.

"That which I would propose is, that the second class, instead of being 180, should be reduced to 80; and the mode in which I would make the reduction should be by

appointing only to the vacancies occasioned by the death or promotion of the original number of Admirals and General Officers.

“I would then give only the third class, not as third class, but as Knights Companions. I would form another third class hereafter, to be composed of Colonels in the army, Post-Captains in the navy, and Lieutenant-Colonels in the army of more than three years’ standing; the two last having already been Knights Companions, and the Knights Companions should be the fourth class.

“The new third class might be limited, or not, as your Royal Highness might think proper. But I think the formation of it might be delayed till some future period.

“I confess that I do not concur in the limitation of the order to Field Officers. Many Captains in the army conduct themselves in a very meritorious manner, and deserve it; and I could never see the reason for excluding them either from the order or the medal.

“I would likewise beg leave to suggest to your Royal Highness the expediency of giving to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers engaged in the battle of Waterloo, a medal. I am convinced it would have the best effect in the army; and if that battle should settle our concerns, they will well deserve it.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“WELLINGTON.”

We now proceed to the debate in the House of Lords upon the subject:—

On the 21st of July, 1845, the Duke of Richmond said,—“In accordance with the notice which he had

given on Friday last, he begged leave to present a petition from the undecorated officers who had served in the Peninsular War, on the subject of decorations conferred on the army engaged in the late war ; and praying that this House will interpose in behalf of the said officers, and bring their case to the notice of Her Most Gracious Majesty. The petition was drawn up in so proper and respectful a manner that he felt the best course he could adopt would be to read a portion of it to the House."

The noble Duke then read an extract from the petition, stating that the petitioners did not deem it necessary to trouble their Lordships' House with any details of the services in which they had been engaged, because the thanks of Parliament had been repeatedly offered for these duties ; and because self-adulation would ill become the character of British soldiers. That they threw themselves on the recommendation of their Lordships, with an earnest hope that the House would interfere in their behalf, by drawing the favourable notice of the Sovereign to their case.

"He thought it was scarcely necessary for him to detain their Lordships at any length on the subject of that petition. He felt, however, that he ought to remind the House of the great importance which the operations in the Peninsular War were to the ultimate pacification of the world. There were many of their Lordships who might remember that period of the history of the country when alarms prevailed throughout the greater part of the nation—when the walls of Parliament, night after night, re-echoed with melancholy forebodings that the British army would, before long, have to fall back on their ships

for refuge, and be forced to return to their native land, defeated and disgraced. But, thanks to the transcendent talents and skill of his noble friend (the Duke of Wellington), and the bravery and heroism of the troops who acted under him, the glory of the British arms was not only maintained, but the flag of England was planted on the soil of France. Every one would admit that the British soldiers did their duty during that period—not in one short campaign alone, but during a struggle the duration of which extended for several years. Nor should it be forgotten that, throughout all that time, they were opposed by the veteran legions of Napoleon—by men who had been reared in the midst of war, and who were as intelligent as they were intrepid.

“ He would not urge, in support of the claims of the petitioners any fear that the English army would not hereafter do its duty ; on the contrary, he believed their brave armies would ever be found ready to maintain the honour of their Sovereign and their country. He believed that the natural bravery of the soldier—the enthusiastic *esprit du corps* which he possessed—the feeling that on his own personal exertions, as it were, might depend the fate of the day, would ever lead the British soldier to do his duty. He would not, therefore, put the case of the petitioners on this ground, but he asked what they required as a simple act of justice ; for he could regard a debt of gratitude only as an act of justice, and in this light he was sure the country at large would also view it.

“ He did not wish to impute blame to any individual in the country, still less to his noble friend the noble Duke, for whom he ever did and ever would en-

tain the strongest feelings of attachment and regard. He sought not to attach blame to those who gave medals to the men who fought and conquered at Waterloo, and to those who conferred the honours that were bestowed on the soldiers who fought their battles in India and China ; but this he would say, why should they not place those whom they saw covered with wounds received in the Peninsular campaigns, on the same footing with their brethren in arms ?

“ He felt that in presenting this petition he was but doing his duty to their Lordships in offering these remarks. He would not detain the House longer, because he felt it was unnecessary for him to recapitulate the heroic achievements of the great army to which he had been referring. He felt it to be a personal compliment to himself to have this petition entrusted to him for presentation by gentlemen with whom he had become acquainted in early life, and for whom he necessarily felt a deep admiration, on account of their heroic deeds. In conclusion, he begged to present the petition from the veterans of the Peninsular War.”

In reply to the above eloquent appeal, which was delivered with the utmost warmth of expression, the Duke of Wellington said :

“ My Lords,—The petitioners do me but justice in stating that I have never mentioned or referred to the war in the Peninsula, excepting in terms of praise of their conduct. But, my Lords, it gives me the greatest concern to feel myself under the necessity of submitting to your Lordships, that your Lordships cannot regularly and according to your usual practice, interfere in a ques-

tion of this description. Some years have elapsed since these same petitioners made an application to me—if I recollect rightly, in the year 1840—on the same subject which they have now brought under your Lordships' consideration. I then stated to them the relation in which I had stood, both towards them and towards the Government, during a considerable number of years. I stated to them that it had been my duty for several years to report their conduct, whether as an army, or as divisions of that army, in brigades or regiments, or as individuals belonging to the army, to the Government of the Crown, and to bring it thus under the knowledge of the Sovereign; but, my Lords, I stated that, as to the rewards of the army, these were matters to which I could otherwise make no reference—that they were acts which were confined to the Sovereign, and to the advisers of the Sovereign—and that in this light I had never presumed to interfere in any manner, excepting when called upon to give my opinion or to carry into execution the orders of the Sovereign to recommend persons for honourable marks of distinction. My Lords, I then recommended those gentlemen to make their representations to the Sovereign through the proper channel.

“ Since I received notice from my noble friend of his intention to present this petition, I have inquired whether any such application has been since made; and I can not only find no trace of such application, but I cannot find any account of such an application having ever been made. I have heard, indeed, that a similar petition to that which my noble friend has brought before your Lordships, was presented by an honourable gentleman

in another place, as the present petition is addressed to your Lordships.

“ But I beg leave to submit to your Lordships that the proper course for these petitioners to adopt is, to present their petition to the Sovereign, and not to come to the Houses of Parliament, in order to require the interference of the Legislature in a matter which is strictly and exclusively the prerogative of the Sovereign. My Lords, I invariably, and I believe in a satisfactory manner—at least I never heard a complaint on the subject—reported the services of the army, or of the individuals composing it, to the attention of the Sovereign. I have frequently received the order of the Sovereign to recommend officers of distinction for reward and promotion ; and not only have I received such directions from the Sovereign of this country, but in repeated instances from the allies of the Sovereign of this country ; and I have submitted the names of officers to those Sovereigns, I hope in a manner satisfactory to those who were selected. The Sovereign of this country has been pleased to give her approbation and consent to the acceptance of those officers of the honours to which I have recommended them. But in no case whatever would I have ever interfered until I was called upon to give my judgment or recommendation and opinion on the subject.

“ It is perfectly true, as the noble Duke on the cross benches [the Duke of Richmond] has stated, that marks of honour of a particular description have been conferred upon other armies which have not been conferred on the armies serving in the Peninsula, however meritorious

their services may have been. But, my Lords, have no marks of honour been conferred upon the armies of the Peninsula? Have no rewards been bestowed upon those officers? What my noble friend has stated is perfectly true, that the service in the Peninsula was not an expedition, but a war, carried on for several years—for six consecutive campaigns, and some winter campaigns. Nearly the whole of the British army served in that war. Out of one hundred and odd battalions, there were about sixty which served in that army. My Lords, this and the other House of Parliament returned to that army their thanks not fewer than sixteen different times, for as many different engagements; and new modes were discovered and adopted of distinguishing and rewarding the officers of that army. Medals were struck in commemoration of actions of gallantry and distinguished actions in the Peninsula upon no fewer than nineteen occasions; and these medals were distributed, by the rules and regulations laid down upon the occasion, to about 1300 officers of the army; and will it be said that 1300 officers are not a considerable number in an army to receive such marks of distinction, and this on nineteen different occasions?

“Then, a new mode of promotion was adopted for the first time in the Peninsular army. I mean the issue of special brevets for extraordinary services; and a vast number of officers were promoted by these special brevets in this very army, whose services are now said to be unacknowledged. Subsequent to the war, upon various occasions, arrangements were made for the benefit of the whole army—cavalry, infantry, and artillery—recom-

mended not by me, nor have I the credit of them, but by the Duke of York, who commanded the army in chief up to the period of his death in 1827, and also by Lord Hill, who succeeded in command, up to the year 1828. First of all, various allowances were made to all the different officers. In 1826, the officers holding brevet rank on full pay had the advantage of retiring upon the advanced half-pay of the next rank above. Lieutenants serving on full-pay, whose commissions were dated prior to 1811, had the option of retiring upon the unattached rank of captain on half-pay. By an order in 1834, on every three vacancies upon the retired full and half-pay, one promotion was granted in the ranks of captain, major, and lieutenant-colonel; all these arrangements being in favour of these officers. In 1835 a further arrangement was made in favour of captains promoted under the General Order of December, 1826; and 20 lieutenant-colonels, 20 majors, and 115 captains received full-pay, instead of retired half-pay. These were solid boons conferred upon those individuals by the public.

“ Then I would beg your Lordships to remember that among your Lordships there are not fewer than seven officers who have been promoted to the peerage on account of their own services, or those of their fathers or grandfathers, in this very army. Not fewer than 400 of the different classes of the Order of the Bath were conferred on the officers who served in the Peninsular army. My Lords, it is perfectly true that the late Sovereign was pleased to confer a medal on the army that fought at the battle of Waterloo—upon every individual who was present on that occasion. This was an honour which had

never before been conferred on any body of troops ; and certainly not on the army in the Peninsula, although they had fought several great battles ; and most undoubtedly their service was of a most important description during the six years that they were in the Peninsula.

“ I beg you to recollect that the battle of Waterloo was an occurrence of an extraordinary nature. A general peace had been made, after a war of a quarter of a century, in the year 1814. Circumstances occurred which rendered imminent the probability that the war would be recommenced, and great preparations were made on all sides. The greatest anxiety was felt, not only in this country, but throughout Europe, upon the breaking out of that war. The battle was fought, and its decision certainly gave at the moment every reason to believe that there was an end to all the operations of the war ; and not a shot has been fired in Europe from that time to this, upon any occasion referable to the operations of that war. It was natural that the Government of this country should be desirous of testifying their approbation of the conduct of the army on that occasion ; and it is true that the late Sovereign and his Government did order that medals should be struck to commemorate that great battle, which should be distributed to every officer and soldier, and should be worn under His Majesty's directions.

“ My Lords, until lately this distinction was confined exclusively to that one affair, and was not conferred on any other army. Until events occurred recently in the East, this honour was not extended to any other army. I am not at all desirous of adverting particularly to the

events which a short time ago happened in that quarter of the globe: but undoubtedly it is an historical fact, that the greatest disaster which has happened in that part of the world for more than sixty years, occurred a few years ago in the north-eastern part of India. It was of the utmost importance to our tenure of the possessions which we had acquired,—nay, to the very existence of the British name in India, as well as to the maintenance of the spirit of the army, that their reputation should be revived by success; and my noble friend the noble Earl [Ellenborough] who was Governor-General of India, and under whose auspices the operations were carried on in all directions, which restored to the army the credit, reputation, and honour in which it was always held, up to that moment, and which tended so much to the honour and advantage of the country; the noble Earl thought it proper to follow the example of the case of the battle of Waterloo, and ordered medals to be struck, and distributed to every individual that fought in the north-east of India. The noble Lord judged most correctly that it was important to give some mark of approbation of the Government at the conduct of the army; to take a step promptly to make the men sensible of the estimation in which their conduct was held, and that it should do so promptly to revive the spirit which had existed before, and that confidence in their own exertions which was so important to re-establish discipline, subordination, and good order. The noble Lord had the power of carrying into execution this measure within the territories under his own government; but it required the assent of Her Majesty in

order that those who received that mark of honour from the noble Lord the Governor-General of India should be enabled to wear this decoration in this country ; and Her Majesty was pleased to express her approbation of the measure which had been adopted by the noble Earl.

“ This is the history of this medal. There is no doubt that the army retrieved the misfortune which had previously occurred, and the good conduct of the troops regained the character of the army, and restored confidence to the public, and peace to India. There was afterwards another instance with regard to such medals, with respect to which I think, from what I shall state, it will be exceedingly clear that they were given on such distinct and exclusive grounds, that they will form an exception to the general rule ; and I think that I shall, in a few words, show your Lordships a full justification for the distinction that was made—I mean the medals given in the case of China.

“ I have before had occasion to draw your Lordships’ attention to the extraordinary operations performed in that war. My Lords, we had fleets and armies there carrying on joint operations on a hostile coast ; carrying on operations against fortified harbours and rivers, against fortresses and fortified coasts, and manœuvring against the enemy exactly as if they had been a body of troops with their cannon in the field, and carrying everything before them. My Lords, you must all recollect the anxiety with which those of us who knew anything of the nature of warlike operations regarded the risks and dangers of that war in China. My Lords, the

British troops overcame all their difficulties ; and I must add that there was this peculiar circumstance attending these operations, namely, that they were carried on by the native troops, who, as well known by all Governors of India, had notorious prejudices against embarkation, and whom it was difficult to prevail on to embark. They did, however, give their services in aid of Her Majesty's troops, enduring all the hardships, and not being backward in their services, or in their efforts to get the better of the enemy.

“ My Lords, after an extraordinary short period of time, the operations of that war were eminently successful ; they were successful at every point ; and they terminated in a peace satisfactory to all parties, and which I hope will be the permanent bond of peace between this country and that great empire. Her Majesty's Government thought proper to reward the services rendered by the army and fleet concerned in those great operations, and ordered that medals should be struck, to be given to each individual who had been concerned in carrying on those operations ; and this, I say, is another singular case, which forms an exception to all general rule, and which cannot be quoted as a precedent for any other case.

“ My Lords, I have already stated to your Lordships that the army which served in the Peninsula is by no means an army that was not favoured. I have stated that it has been highly distinguished and rewarded ; and those services are considered on every occasion in which it is possible to regard them with a view to promotion. But I would beg your Lordships to recollect that this is

not the only successful army which has served this country; your Lordships must not forget the army of Egypt; you must not forget the army that fought in Calabria.

“And when you recollect these services, I would beg your Lordships also not to forget the fleets. Did anybody ever hear of a general medal for a fleet? And yet there have been great naval victories acquired,—such as the battle of the 1st of June, the battle of Cape St. Vincent, and the battle of the Nile. Did anybody ever hear of a general medal worn by everybody for those services? Surely, if the Peninsular army is to have a grant of this description, and an address is presented by your Lordships for that object, it is impossible that your Lordships should not notice these other occasions. Then there is another circumstance, which I beg you to recollect, in favour of the navy; I mean those long winter campaigns, if I may so venture to call them, in the blockade of the coast of France, and in the Bay of Biscay. Month after month, week after week, and night after night, that blockade was persevered in, through the skill of the officers and seamen in the ships of war of the Sovereign of this country. Are these services not to be rewarded equally with continued campaigns on shore for six years in winter and summer? Certainly they must be. If you take the step now proposed, you must take others; and it would be impossible that you should not carry the measure to the full extent of giving a general brevet, in fact, to everybody who ever served during the whole war, as well of the French Revolution as in the Peninsula.”

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The Marquis of Londonderry followed on the same side, expressing his regret that the language of British officers should be such as to seek a decoration or a reward by a petition to Parliament; it was, he considered, unworthy British officers to demand any decorations or rewards for any services they might be called upon to perform. The right of giving rewards was vested exclusively in the Sovereign, and it could not be exercised with impartiality if the subject could be referred to that or the other House of Parliament. The noble marquis then referred to a similar petition presented to the House of Commons by Colonel Hay, which was answered by the then Secretary at War, who was now Governor-General of India (the late Lord Hardinge), and so incapable was the case of counter argument, that the petition was rejected unanimously, and, he believed, without a division. The Duke of Richmond, in reply, first addressed himself to the noble marquis in the following words :—

“ The noble marquis had taken upon himself to give him a lecture because he had thought it his duty to present a petition which he thought respectfully and properly worded, and the noble marquis wondered that he had not taken warning by what occurred in the other House. Now, he was not in the habit of giving up his opinions in consequence of anything that took place in the other House; and he conceived that he was doing his duty to those who had fought and bled in their country's cause, and who, as he thought, had been neglected by their country. The noble marquis said it was unconstitutional, forsooth, that this House should give

rewards to the army and navy. Did he not think it was a reward for the army and navy to receive the thanks of Parliament? The army and navy had ever been proud to receive the thanks of either Houses of Parliament, and there was no reason why such a petition as he had received should not be presented to their Lordships.

“ All that these undecorated officers asked was some memorial to show that they were the individuals to whom for these sixteen actions the House had given its thanks. The noble marquis defied him to show any mode by which the rights should be ascertained; but the roll-call of every regiment that served in the Peninsula was preserved in the Secretary's office. What he complained of was, that the general officers, the commanding officers, and those on the staff who had not brevet rank, did receive rewards; and he asked why the captains, the lieutenants, the subalterns, the non-commissioned officers, and the soldiers were not allowed to wear some mark of distinction to show that they had served? And the noble marquis asked whether the officers of the army lowered themselves by coming here and asking for a boon? He (the Duke of Richmond) thought not at all.

“ It was very well for those covered with decorations to say ‘Don't give medals to captains and subaltern officers, and non-commissioned officers and privates.’ He should like to know whether without these officers and men they would have got their honours themselves? With regard to the Waterloo honours, it was very well known that one corps which received them, did not

know of the action till some days after it was fought, yet the officers who had gone through all the hard service of the Peninsular war were allowed no testimonial.

“All must admit, that it was a laudable ambition in these officers to be able to transmit to their posterity some memorial of their own merits—of their country’s gratitude. He was sure that not one of the petitioners would object to similar rewards being conferred on the troops who had served bravely in Egypt or elsewhere. They were willing to share the honour with all who deserved it; but they had a right to expect (at least he thought so) that they should have something to show that they had gone through the campaign in the Peninsula, and had done their duty. Peninsular officers had gone to reside with their families upon the continent; if they went to a review, going themselves without decorations, they found officers there with decorations who had never been in action.

“His noble friend (the Duke of Wellington) said he approved of medals being given in India, because it was necessary to revive the spirit of the troops, which had had the shadow of a shade cast upon their reputation. He (the Duke of Richmond) did not think it was very expedient to tell the army—‘Only suffer a disaster; then rally and distinguish yourselves again, and you will receive decorations to revive your spirits.’ His case was this:—that when the thanks of Parliament were given to the army, the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and private soldiers should have some record that they had been in the engagement and done their duty there.”

The question remained in abeyance for some time, when, thanks to the kind consideration of our gracious Sovereign, the following document emanated from the Horse Guards:—

“ GENERAL ORDER.

“ Horse Guards, June, 1847.

“ Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to command that a medal should be struck to record the services of her fleets and armies during the wars commencing in 1793 and ending in 1814, and that one should be conferred upon every officer, non-commissioned officer, and soldier of the army, who was present in any battle or siege, to commemorate which medals had been struck by command of Her Majesty's royal predecessors, and had been distributed to the general or superior officers of the several armies and corps of troops engaged in conformity with the regulations of the service at that time in force; general and other officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, who consider that they have claims to receive this mark of their Sovereign's gracious recollection of their services, and of her desire to record the same, are each to apply to the Secretary of the Board of General Officers, Whitehall, London, and to send, in writing, to the same officer a statement of his claim, for what action, at what period of time, and the names of the persons, or the titles of the documents by which the claim can be proved.”

After further instructions as to how the respective claims are to be made, a list of the occasions for which medals were granted was appended.

Maida, 4th July, 1806.

Roleia, 17th August, 1808.

Vimiera, 21st August, 1808.

Sahagun, Benevente, December and January, 1809.

Corunna, 16th January, 1809.

Martinique, February, 1809.

Talavera, 27th and 28th July, 1809.

Guadaloupe, January and February, 1810.

Busaco, 27th September, 1810.

Barrosa, 5th March, 1811.

Fuentes D'Onor, 5th May, 1811.
Albuhera, 16th May, 1811.
Java, August and September, 1811.
Ciudad Rodrigo, January, 1812.
Badajoz, 17th March and 16th April, 1812.
Salamanca, 22nd July, 1812.
Fort Detroit, America, August, 1812.
Vittoria, 21st June, 1813.
Pyrenees, 28th July to 2nd August, 1813.
St. Sebastian, August and September, 1813.
Chateaugnay, America, 26th October, 1813.
Nivelle, 10th November, 1813.
Chrystler's Farm, America, 11th November, 1813.
Nive, 9th to 13th December, 1813.
Orthes, 27th February, 1813.
Toulouse, 10th April, 1814.

By command of Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington,
JOHN MACDONALD,
Adjutant-General.

CHAPTER XIV.

DELAY IN ISSUING MEDALS—A FRIEND IN NEED—THE MARQUIS OF LONDONDERRY'S SNEER—THE DUKE'S INDIGNANT REPLY—ANOTHER GENERAL ORDER—AN INDEFATIGABLE CHAMPION—A PALTRY EX-ACTION FROM THE SOLDIER.

THUS the matter of the Peninsular medal remained for some time, and great delay was made in the preparation of the promised insignia. Hence, when in July, 1847, the Earl of Hardwicke brought forward a motion, praying Her Majesty to grant medals for naval services, the Duke of Richmond, after complimenting the noble lord at the head of the Admiralty for his statement, said that "while recognising the claims of the navy, the claims of the army ought not to be forgotten. Why were not the men who fought in Egypt included in the order as related to the army? They received, it was true, an order from the Sultan, but not from their own Sovereign. There were other actions, also, for which the men engaged in them deserved to have some mark of distinction." In reply to Earl Grey, his Grace said, "that he felt great regret when he heard that Peninsular officers were alone to receive the medal; and he, for one, would rather not have a medal at all, than see officers who had rendered valuable services to their country in every part of the world treated with so much injustice." On the 14th of December, 1847, the Duke of Richmond rose, pursuant to notice, to ask "when it was probable that the

medals intended as rewards would be given to the Peninsular officers and soldiers ; and if it was intended to extend the grant of such medals to other officers, soldiers, and sailors who served in the late war.

“ Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to order that medals should be struck and given to those who had been engaged in particular actions during the Peninsular war ; also, that medals should be given on account of other actions by sea and land during the war generally. He had asked whether there was any intention of extending those rewards to persons engaged in other parts of that great contest ? The reply which he received was, that the Government would give no pledge, but that the subject was under consideration.

“ Though he felt anxious that medals should be given to the Peninsular army, yet he never contemplated, while the Government was performing that act of justice, that they intended to exclude the officers and men who fought under Abercrombie in Egypt, or who achieved the victories under our great naval heroes. Besides, there were officers and men who served in the Peninsula who, though not present at any great action, yet had performed deeds well deserving the approval of the Crown ; their services, he thought, ought not to be put aside. Many of them had lost limbs—many of them had been severely wounded, without having been present at a great action—many, in consequence of sickness, were deprived of the gratification of being present in action.

“ He felt most obliged to his noble friends opposite for giving those medals ; but he confessed he should not be satisfied if he did not think that they intended to give

those rewards much more extensively than had at first been stated. It was his opinion that they ought to be given freely to the officers and soldiers who fought during the late war; and it would be difficult, he thought, to distinguish the merits of men who fought in general actions, from those who displayed equal valour in skirmishes—the one class of men was quite as worthy as the other. He also wished to know whether or not it was the intention to postpone the issue of any medals till all the claims were disposed of—whether the better course would not be adopted of issuing them month by month according to the number of claims which might be investigated, and dealt with in those periods. He feared that if the issue of the medals were delayed, their value would be much diminished, and that they would never reach the hands of those who had fairly earned them.”

As the matter still remained in suspense, the Duke of Richmond speedily returned to the charge, and took the earliest opportunity to ask Lord Grey for an answer to a question of which he had given notice a short time previously. “Their Lordships would be aware that in the year 1846, he presented a memorial to Her Majesty, from the veteran officers of the late war, praying for some decoration which would show that they had done their duty to their Sovereign and country; and that in answer to that memorial he received a communication from Lord John Russell, stating that Her Majesty had been graciously pleased to command that a medal should be struck. Subsequently to that period, he had again called the attention of the House to the subject by asking a question of his noble friend opposite, who was

Secretary of State for the Colonial Department (Earl Grey). Since that time he believed nothing had been done. He did not complain of the Government, still less of the board of general officers, or admirals, to whom the claims had been sent in. He believed that a great number of these claims had been investigated, and that a very full report had been made to the Government, or at all events would very shortly be made, showing that there were a great number of individuals who had been in the actions for which medals were to be granted.

“He now wished to ask when the medals to the veteran officers, non-commissioned officers, soldiers, and sailors were to be issued, and to suggest, if any further delay was to take place, that the riband be forthwith sent to all who have proved their claim, with permission to wear them. The Peninsular war took place more than thirty years ago, and as yet no decoration had been given to the officers and soldiers who served there. When the officers and soldiers who recently served in India arrived in this country, they received their medals. Was it not extraordinary that, for battles only fought and won some sixteen months ago, the men should get their decorations, and yet for battles fought and won forty-five years ago, no medals could be got?”

“Most of these officers and soldiers were men of considerable age—many, indeed, had died since he had last addressed the House on the subject. He therefore hoped that the medals would be given as soon as possible to the survivors, and also to the representatives of those who were dead, as it would be gratifying for them to receive a mark that their relatives had done their duty

to their Sovereign and their country, at a time when their exertions were most valuable and important.”

This appeal failing to produce any satisfactory result, for the opposition was powerful, supported as it was by the great authority of the Duke of Wellington, whom, in those days, it was almost regarded as a crime to contradict, the Duke of Richmond again brought forward his favourite subject, when he said, *inter alia*—

“He now wished to ask his noble friend, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, if anything had arisen which could be adduced as a sufficient cause why the medals for the Peninsular campaign, which had been so long promised, had not been issued to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and private soldiers and sailors who served in the late war.”

After a satisfactory reply from Earl Grey, and when the Marquis of Londonderry had “deprecatcd the recent prostitution of rewards which had taken place,” and which he denounced as “having been squeezed out of the Government,” the Duke of Richmond rose to reply ; which he did in the following words :

“I will now move for a return of those officers, and soldiers, and sailors who are to receive this medal. I do this to place myself right with regard to the orders of your Lordships’ House. After the attack which has been made by the noble and gallant marquis (Londonderry), I trust your Lordships will permit me to answer that attack. He says that these rewards—these medals—are prostituted ; that is, prostitution of these medals to the officers who are not field-officers, the sergeants, the private soldiers who fought in those numerous battles in

the Peninsula—the men who led the forlorn hope at Badajoz, at Ciudad Rodrigo, and at St. Sebastian—the men who fought in those great sea battles, which we shall ever look back to with pride in the history of our country. Prostitution, forsooth! Prostitution of those medals to the soldiers who gained for the noble marquis the medals for the actions in the Peninsula, which he wears, and with which he is decorated.

“I say that the noble marquis, and the other officers who commanded regiments, were justly entitled to their well-earned rewards; but I claim for those who have not had the good fortune to be in the highest branch of their profession, but who dedicated their best energies and shed their best blood for their country, I claim for them this decoration. Squeezed out of the Government! It was no such thing. The war officers petitioned Her Majesty. Her Majesty referred their petition to her confidential advisers. The noble marquis now complains that the medals should not be given at all, because they were not given at the proper time. Because you have been guilty of gross injustice to these veteran soldiers and sailors, is that a reason why you should not now do right? Her Majesty ordered these medals. I have ever given the greatest credit to Her Majesty’s Government for the advice which they gave to Her Majesty. The noble marquis supposes that I shall not be popular in the army because I bring forward this question. I never did anything in this House for the purpose of making myself popular. I have always done my duty; and I will continue to do that according to my conscience. I will support the veteran officers and soldiers

of the late war when I think them right, even if a thousand of your Lordships were to get up and say that I was seeking a prostitution. I believe that the officers, soldiers, and sailors of the late war will be proud of these medals, for they will be a proof that they were present in those battles which shed such glory on the British arms."

As many of the brave warriors who had earned the long-fought-for distinction were scattered about at home and abroad, the applications did not flow in as fast as was expected, which gave rise to the following order :—

“ HORSE GUARDS, May 1st, 1849.

“ Nearly two years have elapsed since General Orders were issued by command of Her Majesty, dated June 1st, 1847, requiring all those to make applications who should consider themselves qualified to receive a medal for their services during the late war, as therein specified. Although 20,369 officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers have, after investigation, been declared qualified, there are still many claims outstanding, which have not yet been sent forward. And notice is hereby given, that no claim will be taken into consideration unless submitted in the manner required by the order of June 1st, 1847, on or before the 1st May, 1850.”

“ 12th May, 1849.

“ SIR,

“ With reference to a circular from the Commander-in-Chief's department, transmitting the infantry medals which have been awarded, under the General Order of 1st June, 1847, and in which circular you are ordered to retain, pending the instructions of the Secretary at War, any of them which belong to men who have died since the date of that order, I am directed to inform you that, with a view of facilitating the issue of these medals to near relatives who may be clearly entitled thereto, the

Secretary at War has authorised their being granted to such applicants, whenever the requisite relationship to the deceased has been established to your satisfaction."

The Duke of Richmond, however, would not allow himself to be defeated or cajoled from his steadfast purpose of obtaining common justice for his old comrades in arms; hence, on June 23rd, 1849, he moved for a return of the actions for which medals had been awarded by sea and land, from 1794—1814, in pursuance of General Orders from the Admiralty and Horse Guards. This motion drew the following speech from the Commander-in-Chief:—

"It appears to me that the measure that was adopted by the order of 1847, is exactly that which was desired by those to whom this distinction ought to be granted. The complaint originally was that a medal had been granted for the services performed in Flanders—at Waterloo; and that a medal was, on the same plan, subsequently granted for services performed in the East Indies; and that such medal was not granted to those who had served in the army in the Peninsula; and certainly when Her Majesty was graciously pleased to consent to confer distinctions upon those officers and soldiers, I consider that the very line adopted, that is to say, the granting medals to those who had been engaged in services which had been already held deserving of commemoration, by the estimation in which those services were held at the time they were performed, was a measure that would give satisfaction to all concerned.

"Your Lordships must observe that it was the Crown that conferred these distinctions, and they were valuable

because they were conferred by the Crown; for whatever officers and soldiers may feel at receiving the approbation of this and the other House of Parliament, it is not this or the other House of Parliament that creates the value of this distinction—it is through its being conferred by the Crown. Those who have the honour of advising the Sovereign on such a subject as this must find out the means of discovering the services which were performed thirty, forty, fifty years ago, and which were at that time most highly considered, and most particularly by the Crown, as deserving its approbation, and the honour of being commemorated—that is the ground on which Her Majesty's servants must have considered it their duty to advise Her Majesty; and I really must say that I have always considered that the advice which they gave was most likely to be satisfactory to those upon whom the honour was to be conferred.

“It may be right to extend the principle further; but with respect to individual cases it would be quite impossible for Her Majesty's ministers to advise the Crown to adopt any principle except that adverted to by the noble Secretary of State (Earl Grey), namely, to grant a medal to every individual who happened to be employed on foreign service during the war. But would any man feel any distinction in such a grant? Certainly not. The distinction would be accepted, and might be worn; but no man would feel satisfaction in being distinguished for nothing except that he served abroad during the war. In each of the cases where medals were given, the Sovereign pursued, by the advice of the

ministers of the Crown, the order which directed that these services should be commemorated by striking medals, and giving one of each to the principal officers; and, according to that rule, every individual who was present in the same campaign, and received that mark of distinction from the Sovereign, must derive satisfaction from it. I will not say that those who have been wounded do not deserve any distinction that can be given to them; but the principle of rewarding men with medals merely because they have been wounded is a principle not hitherto acted on. There were many wounded men in this country long before the year 1794; but it was never proposed to reward them by distinctions on account of their wounds. I feel for those men, and I desire to see them properly considered; but what I want to say now is, that it is not usual to grant them medals. No distinction of that sort can be granted unless regularly recommended to the Sovereign for services performed from twenty-five to fifty years ago, and I do not see how that can be done otherwise than by the general rules established in 1847."

In spite of the Duke of Wellington's avowed feelings in the matter, the motion was passed. In the meanwhile, as the Duke of Richmond was in the constant receipt of letters from naval and military men, begging to remind him of the fact that their services had been overlooked, on February 21, 1850, his Grace called the attention of their Lordships to a number of naval and military operations for which war medals had not been granted, and requested that the injustice should be remedied. After Earl Grey had pointed out the impossibility of tracing

back for so many years as were suggested by the proposition, all the naval and military services for which medals had not been granted, owing to reasons assigned at the time, the Duke of Wellington rose and said :

“The noble Secretary for the Colonies has referred to me for my opinion when former applications were made on this subject, not only to this, but also to the other House of Parliament. It has been stated that the army in the Peninsula was not treated in the same manner as the army in Flanders, and as other armies which have served in China and in the East Indies and elsewhere. It appears to me that the plan which would be most in conformity to the wishes of those who made the former application, and of those on whose behalf the noble Duke has addressed the House, and which would be most calculated to gratify all parties, would be to grant a medal to all those who were engaged in those great actions and achievements, which, by order of the Sovereign of the day, have been commemorated by the grant of medals to the principal officers engaged in those battles; on that ground I recommended the principle which was subsequently adopted, and which, I believe, has given general satisfaction. Whether that principle should be extended farther is for the consideration of Her Majesty’s Government. All I can say is, that, whenever I shall receive Her Majesty’s orders for such an extension, I will set to work to carry them into execution with the utmost diligence.”

After a few remarks from Lords Colchester and Londonderry, the Duke of Richmond complained of the

charge of *2s. 6d.* exacted from the soldiers by the Mint for engraving their names on their medals.

The Duke of Wellington explained that the reason why the charge was made to the soldier was, that the expense of engraving the medals could not be charged to the public until there was a grant voted by Parliament for that amount, and that required time. The Commander-in-Chief had no power, and no funds to meet that expense. It was the desire of the men themselves that their names should be engraved on their medals, and there was no other means of doing it than through the Mint.

CHAPTER XV.

GENERAL OPINION ABOUT THE MEDAL — A SPLENDID REWARD — THE
TESTIMONIAL — THE DUKE RETURNS THANKS — THE GUESTS AT
THE BANQUET — A BRILLIANT PARTY.

WHEN the victory was thus gained, after a gallant and protracted fight against the combined authority of the Government and the Horse Guards, the conqueror was crowned with well-earned laurels. The press and the military periodicals were warm in their praises of the Duke of Richmond; and the following remarks, which appeared in the "United Service Magazine" at the period, so entirely coincide with our own views, that we feel no hesitation in quoting them:—

"Now that the 'scramble' for medals is over, the appetite of the candidates pretty well satiated with their distribution, and His Grace of Richmond has received the well-merited thanks of his military brethren for his exertions in getting them decorated for the toils endured, and gallantly displayed, in fighting their country's battles, we may be permitted to review the matter at leisure, and consider whether what has been so tardily effected has been accomplished in the manner it ought to have been done, and whether it is calculated to give that general satisfaction which a measure of such delicacy and importance ought to do.

"It appears to be the opinion of many, that by con-

fining the distribution of the medal, as has been done, to those who were present at certain general actions, numbers have been excluded who were as much entitled to the decoration as many of those who have been more fortunate in obtaining it.

“ Will any one deny that the portions of the army engaged in one or other of the multitude of minor actions in the Peninsula and elsewhere,—Egypt, Sicily, Bergen-op-Zoom, and New Orleans,—did not perform their duty as well as those at the places for which the medals are awarded, and that they were less deserving than their more fortunate brethren? Was it their fault, for instance, that the Duke (Wellington) undertook the siege of Burgos without an adequate battering train? Why should those who did the utmost possible, and who suffered in consequence of not being able to effect more, be denied the just reward of their exertions? In a word, why should success be made the criterion of the soldier’s merit, courage, and daring? Is zeal unsuccessfully exerted less praiseworthy than when, by good luck, it succeeds? Is the braving of insuperable difficulties not as heroic and meritorious as those which are more easily overcome? The same ardour, gallantry, and zeal exerted in either case ought to reap the same reward; nay, when the fact is incontrovertible, the unfortunate have, perhaps, a superior claim to consideration, as they, besides, are exposed to suffer the mortification of disappointed hopes and exertions.

“ When the medals were in the course of distribution, a worthy friend of mine, who had lost a limb in one of

the actions for which the decoration was *not* granted, in the course of his morning's walk was met by a civilian acquaintance, who, heartily shaking him by the hand, thus addressed him :

“ ‘ Well, Major, have you got your medal yet ? ’

“ To which, with a grin, the Major replied, ‘ Yes, indeed,—see, there it is ! ’ at the same time holding up his wooden leg.

“ When an officer has gallantly performed his duty to his country, and especially if he have suffered personally in her cause, what does it signify to him whether it was in this or that action ? Is his country not equally indebted to him ? Why, therefore, should he be denied the decoration bestowed upon others not more deserving ? Why should he be exposed to the mortification of seeing perhaps his old companions in arms, doubly fortunate in having escaped unscathed, wearing on their breasts a badge to which his services at least equally entitled him ? It is a hard case. Why are such deserving and gallant veterans excluded ? Where all have nobly done their duty, should such an invidious distinction be suffered to exist ?

“ At a former period, when, in consequence of the invidious distinction granted for the crowning victory of Waterloo, and the unmerited neglect with which those who had encountered the hardships, and fought England's battles, in the Peninsula with equally crowning success ; at a time, too, when they had comparatively to deal unsupported with a foe who had everywhere else besides met with unexampled success over his opponents ; when it was first mooted that a decoration

should be granted, it was thought that one medal might suffice for all who served there, as in the case of Waterloo itself, where one sufficed for all the different actions in the Netherlands. But the magnates, or authorities to which the settlement of this matter was intrusted, no doubt in consideration of being fittest to decide on its suitableness and propriety, deemed it more advisable to adopt a plan of their own devising, confining it to certain principal actions, and thereby excluding all those who had not the good fortune to be present at one or other of them. Yet there were many present in the Peninsular war, who, though thus excluded, saw much hard service, and were as much entitled to a medal as not a few of those whom this regulation included. Is it not a fact that some who received a medal or clasps for Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, had no share of the fighting at either of these places, having been merely present with the force covering these sieges? Was there anything very unreasonable, then, in expecting that all who served in Portugal and Spain should have been entitled to a medal for the Peninsular war?

“ It is no doubt a difficult matter to draw a line as to the limit to which such a measure should extend ; but it seems to be the general opinion that it would be better had one medal only been given for Peninsular service, on which, however, every action the recipient was present at might have been inscribed. Numbers thus, who were present in one or other of the campaigns, and saw not a little hard service, though not in any of the actions for which a medal has been awarded, might justly have parti-

icipated in the decoration; as, no doubt, there are instances where it was bestowed on some who, though nominally present at certain affairs, yet were not actually engaged. Is it not notorious that some corps which were not within a dozen miles of the battle of Waterloo when it was fought, yet received the medal?"

After the victory came the reward, and in the course of 1849 it was proposed that the Duke of Richmond should be presented with a testimonial for his exertions on behalf of the Peninsular heroes. A committee was formed, of which the gallant Lord Saltoun was appointed chairman. It was composed of officers of every grade, while sub-committees were appointed in the English counties, Scotland, and Ireland, to carry out the desired object. The subscriptions were strictly confined to those who had received the medals, and the amount was fixed to range from one pound to five shillings for officers, while those for private soldiers ranged as low as one penny.

This appeal having been liberally responded to, arrangements were made to present the Duke of Richmond with the testimonial at a public dinner to be held in Willis's Rooms. A naval and a military honorary secretary were appointed to carry out the affair, and Lord Saltoun consented to preside at the banquet. The following account of the ceremony is taken from the *Times*:—

Military glory is one of the most easily remunerated things in the world. It is incredible what an amount of toil and suffering man will go through, and what noble qualities he will exhibit, for the sake of a wreath

of leaves, a bit of red riband, a little metal cross, or a medal, when we question much if mere money considerations could have induced him to peril life or limb in the contest. No matter how paltry in itself the reward may be, if it is given by the country as a reward for faithful services, and is recognised by the people as a token of dangers endured and victories won on their account, it will be esteemed by the most practical and sensible of warriors a full recompense for all his privations.

No wonder, then, that the ancients of the old war should have felt keenly that the country so long refused to allow them such a reward as a schoolboy gets for 'general good conduct,' for the most desperate, daring, and successful career which military history records. But for the Duke of Richmond, however, their claims might have never been recognised, or only been acknowledged when there were none left to make them. At last, however, these faithful soldiers and sailors, whom battle or the lapse of years has yet left to us, have been rewarded by the 'war medal,' a decoration of silver, the size of half-a-crown, and about equal in value to that coin, and on Saturday evening upwards of two hundred of the old Egyptians, Peninsulars, and 'sea lions' of Nelson and Collingwood, assembled at Willis's Rooms, St. James's-street, for the purpose of presenting the Duke of Richmond with some mark of their approbation, and seldom in these days have so many aged and distinguished officers been collected together.

Fine as it would have been to have seen them nearly half a century ago, when young and dashing men, full

of courage and strength, and burning with all the energies of a hotly contested war, it was more touching and interesting to behold these venerable reliques of the terrible contests which have won the peace we now enjoy, gray-haired and full of honours, meeting at their last muster on this side the grave,—the representatives of a gallant generation which death has been busy with year after year—and of feelings, and perhaps of prejudices, rapidly vanishing. It was sad, to be sure, to witness some old man, whose breast presented a harvest of orders and decorations, sinking beneath the weight of years, and to think that he would soon pass away from among us, and that there were men who could only see in the event a happy lightening of the annual bill for military services; but generally the company bore themselves well, and baffled speculations as to age, by a rigid uncompromising muscularity of face and figure, that told of hard work and little luxury in days gone by. All wore their new 'war medal,' of which they appeared as proud as if they had won a fresh battle, but there were few indeed who had not one or two companions to keep it in countenance, in the shape of crosses, ribands, and stars, and some could scarcely make room for it amid the blaze of decorations on their coats.

A very large number wore military and naval uniforms, and the flashing of gold and silver lace, the glare of bright scarlet, contrasted with the blue of the navy, cavalry, and artillery, and set off by a crowd of black coats, the well-chiselled old heads, surmounted by sparse white hair, and decked with blanched mus-

tachios, visible along the table, the sight now and then of a coat sleeve looped up neatly to the breast button, or of the leg of a pantaloon dangling carelessly without a leg to fill it, the mark of a grim scar on some ancient face, all under the mellow hue of the wax lights, filled the eye with a very stirring picture.

At a little after seven, the chairman, Lord Saltoun, took his seat. The testimonial was placed on a triangular pedestal of ebony, in a recess behind the chairman. On the summit of a quadrangular pedestal is an allegorical group, representing the Duke of Richmond directing the attention of Britannia to the merits of her military and naval powers. His Grace is represented in the centre, in the costume of a peer, and has in his left hand the memorial to Her Majesty, while, with his right, he directs the attention of Britannia to the figures of Mars and Neptune, and in the hand of Britannia is the war medal, which she is about to distribute. At the angles of the pedestal are grouped naval and military trophies, between which are panels containing the following inscription :

“ Presented, on the thirty-eighth anniversary of the battle of Vittoria, to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, K. G., by the recipients of the war medal, in grateful remembrance of his long and unwearied exertions in their behalf, as a token of admiration and esteem from his humbler brethren in arms, who successfully aided in defending their island home throughout a long and arduous war, in which they gained a series of resplendent victories that led to the capture of Paris, Madrid, and Washington, and finally to a lasting and honourable peace.”

The interview of His Grace with Her Majesty is then represented in relief; and in the other compartments

the names of the engagements in which the troops were engaged, to whom medals had been given. On the base are four groups—viz., two naval, consisting of marines, sailors, and boys, and two military: the first shows a light dragoon dismounted, a light infantryman, a rifleman, a British grenadier, and a mounted hussar; on the second a horse artilleryman mounted, a foot artilleryman, a soldier of the line, a highlander, and a heavy dragoon dismounted appear. Between each group are panels containing the arms, and the lower base is empannelled with two military and two naval subjects—viz., the battles of Vittoria and Orthes, and those of the Nile and Trafalgar, which are placed beneath the appropriate groups. The testimonial, which was designed by Mr. Alfred Brown from a sketch, with the exception of the allegorical groups, presented to him by Lord William Lennox, stands nearly four feet high, and was executed in dead and burnished silver by Messrs. Hunt and Roskell, and is valued at about 1500 guineas.

The dinner took place in the room where Almack's balls, which so long swayed the fashionable world, were held, Mr. Toole acting as toastmaster, and the band of the Life Guards was stationed near the banqueting-room. After the usual toasts had been proposed and responded to with all the warmth they merited, the noble Chairman rose to propose the health of the Duke of Richmond, and to present His Grace with the testimonial of the affectionate esteem and respect of his fellow-soldiers. The Duke of Richmond then rose, and received repeated rounds of cheers: he said—

“My Lord Saltoun, I beg to assure you that I feel

the difficulty of the task which your kindness, and that of my old companions in arms in the naval and military service, has imposed upon me. I am happy to say that with men in every arm of that service—which has imposed upon me the difficult task of adequately returning thanks and acknowledging the feelings of my heart, not only for the manner in which you have received me on the present occasion, but for this splendid and magnificent testimonial of your personal goodwill towards me—I have been acquainted. I am happy to say that in early life I was acquainted with many of those whom I now have the honour to see around me, and that I always regarded them as friends and brothers. I trust, my Lords and gentlemen, that this splendid testimonial will descend to my children's children, and that it will be an additional reason to them to take advantage of their position—to undergo the privations and fatigues, and to share the dangers of their fellow-subjects. I hope and trust, too, gentlemen, that they will not forget the important services which the army and navy of this country have on all occasions rendered, and I hope that it will be an inducement to them to take care that the heroic deeds of times of war are not to be laid aside and forgotten in periods of peace. Gentlemen, my humble services in obtaining your just claims have been by my noble friend somewhat overrated.

“Gentlemen, you well know the kind and feeling heart of our most gracious Sovereign Lady the Queen. I was aware of the deep anxiety which Her Majesty, from the period of her accession up to the present moment, had evinced in doing justice and promoting the happi-

ness of all classes of her subjects. Gentlemen, I felt certain that it was impossible but that a Queen of England would feel a deep debt of gratitude to those brave and heroic men who, devoting themselves to the profession of arms, both by sea and land, have promoted the peace which has so long continued, and maintained Her Majesty's illustrious family and herself on the throne of these her realms, and have gained for her, too, the proud appellation of the Queen of the Seas. They have placed the empire of England in the first rank of the ruling nations of the world.

“It was for these reasons that I felt that if an appeal was really and honestly made to the throne, and if Her Majesty had advisers worthy to be the advisers of the Crown, that appeal could not be refused. Gentlemen, I feel deeply grateful to my Lord John Russell and his colleagues for having, after a former administration had refused it, recommended to Her Majesty to grant the just request of the memorial which I had the honour to present.

“Politically opposed as I am to Lord John Russell and the present Cabinet, I must say to the old war officers here present, that I never saw any individual more anxious than he was that your just claims should be carried out. Gentlemen, do not for a moment suppose that there is the slightest spark of ingratitude in anything I am about to say, but I am about to tell you, my old brother officers of the two services, the feelings of my heart on the present occasion. I deeply regret that this measure was not extended much further than it has been. I never could understand the reason why the

officers of Her Majesty navy, who in single ship action, in capturing privateers at the hazard of their lives, in defending our convoys, or in their heroic and hazardous achievements of cutting out vessels in boats from the muzzles of well-trained and well-manned guns in batteries,—displaying a chivalry and heroism, permit me to say, which few but British seamen could ever be found even endeavouring to attempt,—I never could understand why those brave men, and the gallant spirits, the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who in every part of the world maintain the glory of our arms, should be debarred from participating in the rewards they had so justly earned. I ask, why should any difference be made between the advanced and the rear guards—between skirmishes usually preceding our greatest victories, when many were struck down by the bullets of the enemy, and carried to the general hospital in the rear, and thereby prevented from sharing a few days afterwards in the glories of the general battle—I ask why they should not bear on their breasts the proof that they had been in personal conflict with the enemy, and cleared the way for their more fortunate fellows, thereby doing good service to their Sovereign and their country? I have made these remarks at the hazard of trespassing too long upon you, because I feel that you will think the light infantry soldier should be very quick in his movements. Nevertheless, I do deeply regret, gentlemen, that it did not happen that these medals were given some fifteen or twenty years since. There is not a single individual whom I have now the honour of addressing who cannot call to his mind some of the best

and bravest men of all grades in the two professions, who now lie cold in their graves, hastened to it perhaps by privations and fatigues, and their hearts not gladdened by wearing the testimonial, to which they were entitled, of their Sovereign's approbation and their country's gratitude.

“ The services which upon the present occasion you represent, have placed, in every clime in which it has been your destiny to serve, both by sea and land, the honour, and glory, and renown of the British arms on a pinnacle which never can be exceeded. You have guarded the standard of England at all hazards, and have left it to your successors untarnished by the slightest stain. May that flag never float over the quarter-deck of our men-of-war, or be unfurled in battle on the fatal and the ensanguined field of war, save for the maintenance of the honour of your Sovereign, the independence of your country, and the protection of the weak and oppressed of all nations. Gentlemen of the navy, your successors on board men-of-war will, I have no doubt, emulate the brave deeds of their predecessors; and they will, in danger's hour, remember that they have the honour of defending that flag under which Nelson, and your great naval heroes, so invariably triumphed; and I hope the soldiers will never forget that to their charge is confided those colours under which a Wellington, an Abercrombie, and a Moore, so constantly were victorious. In the name of the recipients of the war medal, and on my own behalf, I can only say, we all feel deeply grateful to Her Majesty for the favour we have all received. I feel proud, gen-

tllemen, in wearing this medal, because it enables me to address you as one of your old comrades. I will not detain you further than to say that I beg you to receive the most heartfelt acknowledgments of a grateful heart, and the best thanks of an old veteran soldier."

After a few more toasts the Chairman rose, and addressed the company as follows:—

"We are particularly honoured this night by the presence of many ladies, who I know feel the dangers and solicitude of a soldier's life. We have the honour on the present occasion of Her Grace the Duchess of Richmond, and I shall, without further preface, propose the health of the handsomest woman in Great Britain, the Duchess of Richmond, and the ladies who have honoured us with their presence." The toast was, as a matter of course, drank with three times three, the company standing up to do honour to their visitors.

The Duke of Richmond said—"He could not allow the health of the Duchess of Richmond to be drunk by the officers of the two services without rising to express the feelings which animated him. It was natural that the Duchess of Richmond should have appeared in that gallery to witness the honours heaped upon her husband. She knew those honours were most grateful to his heart, and he would return the gentlemen present her best thanks for the high honour they had bestowed upon her, and add a hope that her children, and the children of those children, would give themselves to the profession of arms. He looked back to the early days of his life with feelings of the deepest gratification, because he then became acquainted with the best and most gallant

spirits that ever existed—not officers only, but privates, whose names even were unknown. The Duchess of Richmond felt as a soldier's daughter, as one born of the right sort, and, in her name, he thanked them for the compliment, they had paid her.

The Duke of Richmond then proposed the health of their noble chairman. Lord Saltoun was well worthy of the station he derived from a long hereditary line of ancestors. He might, when a young man, have remained at home in his fine place, and have enjoyed the sports of Leicestershire, which he liked very much indeed; but he preferred his duty to his country to anything else; and having joined a Highland regiment, shared with it the dangers and privations of the field. He remembered well the occasion to which his noble friend had referred, when he, Lord Sefton, commanded the Light Company of the Grenadier Guards in the wood in front of Hougoumont; and when he had been sent three times to him, with orders from the General, and had received the reply, "Don't you care, you need not remind me of my duty;" and monstrous glad he felt when out of the wood. They all knew the result of that defence, and the influence it exercised on the battle of Waterloo.

The Duke of Richmond was now requested by the noble chairman to propose a toast; and he at once rose to respond to the call; and in so doing paid the following just tribute to a most valued and valuable class of men,—the medical officers and civil departments of both services. His Grace said, he had always felt himself to be bound by orders, and on no occasion had he felt more grateful, than in rising to follow the commands of the

chair. He rose to give the "Medical Officers of the Army and Navy, and the Civil Departments of both services." Among them was, of course, included a very important branch of the service—the commissariat—which John Bull had always felt to be a most important service; for brave as the British soldier was, he could not fight on an empty belly; as for the medical officers, every man present knew their value, and by land and sea had felt their kind skill and attention. Many of them well knew how Mr. Guthrie, whom they were happy to see among them that night, had benefited the army by his exertions; and they would all agree with him in saying, that better men never existed than the staff-surgeons of the British army.

Mr. Guthrie, in returning thanks, alluded to an incident, which took place during the war, when one of our best regiments faltered before the tremendous fire of the enemy. On that occasion, three officers had been despatched to bring them into order. The first was the Prince of Orange, the second Lord Fitzroy Somerset, and last, not least, was the Earl of March. When the regiment in question was wavering under that fire, these officers recovered their sinking spirits—by their example and efforts restored the steadiness of the men—and the battle was won.

It was nearly midnight before the party broke up; for, when the President had vacated his chair, the veteran warriors gathered together in small coteries to fight their battles over again; here a gallant General might be seen in earnest conversation with a brave "blue jacket," reminding him of the delights of Lisbon, where they first met,

previous to that celebrated engagement at Talavera, in which he (the General), then a jolly subaltern, had carried the colours of one of the most distinguished regiments in the service; there, again, might one of Craufurd's division be found in conversation with a brother officer of Picton's, both of whom had been wounded at Busaco; an old 52nd man is listening to a Connaught Ranger, who describes how his gallant corps, in conjunction with the 71st and 79th regiments, drove the enemy from the chapel eminence at Fuentes de Oñoro; two Admirals are echoing the sentiments of the noble Duke, to honour whom they had met, and regretting that the daring exploit of "cutting out vessels" had not been rewarded with medals.

And who is that fine old man, who, borne down by age and illness, brought on by hard work and pestilential climes, is cordially shaking the hand of as brave a Cavalry General as ever lived; it is one who, nearly forty years ago, was present at the glorious battle of Salamanca; again, two naval officers may be heard talking over the victory of Trafalgar, where four hundred and forty-nine officers and men were killed, and twelve hundred and fourteen wounded; an ex-Hussar, no longer the "observed of all observers," is reminding his old captain of how their corps came up with the French rear near La Serna, and captured three battalions of the retreating enemy.

Two medical officers, still hale and hearty, and who fully merited the eulogiums of the Duke of Richmond, have not met for years; their first acquaintance began by the watch-fires of Torres Vedras, and yet they recog-

nise one another with a warmth of feeling that really springs from the heart, and proves that time is powerless to obliterate a friendship commenced on the battle field, and cemented by constant intercourse during the perils of a lengthened campaign.

The artillery officer in conversation with one of the most distinguished of the commissariat department could narrate the deadly effect produced by the fire of his guns from the storming of Badajoz, to the assault on Toulouse : while the latter could repeat many an anecdote of the danger he incurred in supplying the wants of the soldiers, and the unthankful duties entailed on him.

A guardsman, who had been present at Quatrebras and Waterloo, meets here for the first time during many years a veteran of the 95th, and talks over the times when they both belonged to the army of occupation in France : while an invited guest is present who, in more recent days, was an actor at the scene, when—

“ Into the valley of death
Rode the six hundred,”

and led on his light brigade to eternal glory, with a chivalry unsurpassed in any of the old wars.

We cannot conclude this chapter more appropriately than by giving the list of the gallant company assembled on this memorable occasion, in honour of the man who had spared no exertions to obtain justice for them :—

Lieut.-General the Right Hon. Lord Saltoun ; Admiral Sir J. E. Hammond, K.C.B. ; Captain the Earl of Egmont ; Admiral Sir H. Dillon, K.C.H. ; General Lord Combermere ; Major-General Lovell, K.H. ; Major-General Sir W. L. Herries ; Major-General Sir Hugh Rose, A.R.A. ; Major-General Sir S. Rolt ; Lieut.-General Sir E.

Bowater, K.C.B. ; Lieut.-General Sir T. Drummond ; the Earl of Cardigan ; Rear-Admiral G. T. Falcon ; Sir W. Burnett, M.D., K.C.H., F.R.S. ; Captain J. Middleton, late Rifle Brigade ; Captain J. Scott, C.B. ; Major Cooke, Secretary ; Dr. Hair, late Royal Horse Guards (Blues) ; Lieut.-Colonel J. Leach, C.B., late Rifle Brigade ; Colonel Wood, late 52nd Regiment ; Major Neville, late 30th Regiment ; Colonel M'Adam, late 8th Regiment ; Mr. R. B. Caton, late 12th Dragoons ; Major Marshall, 91st Regiment ; Captain Ryder Burton ; Lieut.-Colonel J. Rilton, late 11th Hussars ; Dr. Thompson, Inspector of Hospitals ; Mr. G. T. Guthrie, F.R.S. ; Captain J. Kincaird, late Rifle Brigade ; Captain Phibbs ; Sir Matthew Wyatt ; Admiral Ascough ; Captain F. Robertson, Half-Pay, R.A. ; Sir E. Johnson, K.E.S. ; Colonel Yorke ; Lieut.-Colonel Gunning, late 6th Foot ; Captain Pennington, late 48th Regiment ; Mr. Soden, late Assistant Surgeon, 70th Regiment ; Major-General Reeve ; Lieut.-General J. Wilson, K.C.B. ; Major Berkeley Calcott, Half-Pay, 36th Regiment ; Mr. Ralph Nicholson, late 31st Regiment ; Captain B. R. Humfrey, Half-Pay, late 45th Regiment ; Mr. W. O'Grady, late 87th Regiment ; Captain E. Lloyd, K.H., F.R.S. ; Mr. G. L'Es-trange, Half-Pay 3rd Guards, late 31st Regiment ; Hon. Major Napier ; Sir E. Belcher, R.N. ; Mr. James Eddowes, Ordnance Medical Department ; Colonel Sir S. Lellie ; Captain T. Pipon, late 7th Hussars ; Colonel Gawler, late 52nd Regiment ; Colonel Oates, late 88th Regiment ; Captain Alves, late 74th Highlanders ; Lieut.-Colonel Goldsmid, late 12th Dragoons ; Dr. Mahony, Inspector of Hospitals ; Captain W. Humbley, late Rifle Brigade ; Lieut.-General Wilkie ; Mr. T. Wetherhed, Commissary-General ; Baron Robeck, late 7th Hussars ; Sir B. Outram, M.D., C.B. ; Dr. Gilchrist, M.D., late 43rd Regiment ; Colonel Sir W. R. Clayton ; Major Slack ; Lieut.-Colonel Hanmer, late Royal Horse Guards (Blues) ; Major Scoones, late 81st Regiment ; Colonel Falls ; Captain Northey, late 52nd Regiment and 3rd Guards ; General Sir Hugh Halket ; Lieut.-Colonel T. Gloucester ; Major Paschal, Half-Pay ; Colonel Sir R. Nickle ; Lieut.-Colonel R. Yule, late 48th Regiment ; Captain Dickenson, R.N. ; Mr. F. C. Cherry, Principal Veterinary Surgeon ; Lieut.-Colonel Stepney Cowell, Coldstreams ; Commander T. Curtis, R.N. ; Captain J. D. Weatherley, late 60th Rifles ; Dr. Cannon, Medical Staff, R.A. ; Colonel Henry Salway ; Captain Sir G. Houlton ; Colonel Digby, late 3rd Guards ; Colonel Cartwright, late 10th Hussars ; Major M. Orr, late 7th Fusiliers ; Captain M. Sweny,

R.N. ; Major S. Thorpe, K.H., late 27th Regiment ; Lieut.-Colonel Fitzmaurice ; Colonel J. F. Love, C.B., K.H., late 52nd Regiment ; Captain J. Robb, R.N. (Secretary) ; Lieut.-Colonel H. Smith ; Lieut.-Colonel Whylock, Royal Marines ; R. Barney, Esq., Deputy Commissary General ; Sir C. F. Forbes, M.D., K.C.H. ; Lieut.-Colonel G. Browne, late 23rd Royal Welch ; Lieut.-Colonel J. Johnston, late 99th Regiment ; Captain A. F. G. Evans ; Sir John Tylden, late 43rd Regiment ; Captain E. Morgan ; Captain Josiah Thompson ; Captain Croxton Johnston, late 3rd Dragoons ; Colonel S. Reed, 54th Regiment ; Captain W. Grattan, late 88th Regiment ; Dr. Maclaughlin, late 61st Regiment ; Captain John Molloy, late Rifle Brigade ; Major Austen, late 52nd Regiment ; Mr. T. P. Cooke (the celebrated dramatic artist) ; Lieutenant Lipscombe ; Colonel C. C. Patrickson, late 43rd Regiment ; Captain Harry Eyres ; Captain W. Shephard, R.N. ; Dr. Este, late 1st Life Guards ; Captain Lempriere, Half-Pay, R.N. ; Captain Baxter, late 30th Regiment : Major Walker, late 88th Regiment ; Colonel A. F. Macintosh, K.H. ; Colonel Allix, Grenadier Guards ; Captain T. D. King, late 7th Royal Fusiliers ; Sir James Alexander ; Major Campbell, Staff Officer of Pensioners ; Major John Maclean, 46th Regiment ; Major-General Pymm, Portuguese Service ; Mr. John Miller, Field Train R.A. ; Captain Mosinan ; Lieut.-Colonel M'Niven, 42nd Regiment ; Commissary General Haines, C.B. ; Captain Camelleri, R.N. ; Captain Sandon, R.N. ; Captain W. Clarke, R.N. ; Captain R. O. Byrne, R.N. ; Captain Carleton, R.N. ; Captain P. Z. Cox, late 23rd Dragoons ; Captain J. Leckie, late 39th Regiment ; Captain W. O'Neill ; Colonel Airey ; Major Harvey ; Major Hopkins, K.H. ; Sir Roderick Murchison ; Sir Henry Johnson, Aide-de-Camp to the late King of the Netherlands ; Mr. Grace, M.P. ; Captain Brown ; Mr. J. Payne, Quartermaster Grenadier Guards ; Commissary General Maclean ; Captain Hamond ; Captain Chappell ; General Torriano ; Major James Chadwick ; Lieutenant Coles ; General Robbins ; Major Blakeston ; Colonel Dixon ; Mr. J. Trory ; Sir Raymond Jervis ; Major Hill ; General Llewellyn ; Ensign Richard Champney, late 74th Regiment ; Colonel Wilson, late of the Guards ; Messrs. Clifton, Bain, W. L. Coles, W. G. Anderson, Evans, T. Walcot, C. Martin, and J. C. Brettell.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DUKE AND THE MILITIA—HIS APPOINTMENT TO THE SUSSEX LIGHT INFANTRY—WELLINGTON'S OPINION ABOUT THE VOLUNTEERS—THE ARMY SERVICE BILL—THANKS TO THE INDIAN ARMY—REWARD TO LORD SEATON—FOREIGN LEGIONS.

WHATEVER divergence of opinion may exist as to the Duke of Richmond's political tenets, and although the march of events has proved that he would, perhaps, have acted more wisely, though not more honourably, in yielding to the current; we think that we have sufficiently proved in our earlier pages that he did his duty thoroughly to his country as a brave and distinguished soldier.

The Duke's predilection for the military service lasted to his latest hour. When he retired from active service, though he had a right to enjoy the comforts of life, without further claims on the part of his country to satisfy, he gladly availed himself of the opportunity for doing the state good service by acting as Colonel of the Royal Sussex Militia, and brought that regiment up to an unexampled state of discipline and efficiency by his unremitting efforts.

In these volunteer times, when a splendid army of defence was, as it were, stamped out of the earth at the first suspicion of offered insult to England, it is becoming too much the fashion to decry the militia, and

Government, glad of cutting off a very considerable expense, have during the last two years refrained from calling them out to exercise. And, yet, during the Crimean war, the embodied militia regiments proved extremely valuable, for not only did they fill up the gaps made in our lines by the Russian artillery, but they also allowed troops to be drafted abroad; we may especially refer to that splendid regiment, the Oxfordshire militia, the boast of whose officers it was that their line covered more ground than any other in the army, and which volunteered for service in the Mediterranean, thus allowing a regiment of the line to be drafted to the seat of war. The same, too, may be said of the Wiltshire regiment of militia, which it would have required a very experienced eye to have distinguished from a line regiment. Unfortunately, as we said, the Government in their wisdom have allowed the militia to fall into comparative neglect, and we greatly fear that if any sudden emergency compelled our army to be largely augmented, the want of such a training school for soldiers would be severely felt.

Moreover, the militia is a thoroughly national institution; for hundreds of years our monarchs depended solely upon it to resent aggression abroad or great tumults at home, and it will not be forgotten that, at so recent a period as 1852, the authorities recognised the merits of a system which fostered a martial spirit among our country folk. In that year when the growing might of France caused it to be regarded as a necessity that our home means of defence should be augmented, one of the first measures passed was a bill empowering

Her Majesty to raise a militia force of 80,000 men, of which number 50,000 men were to be furnished in quotas for each county or riding, to be fixed by an order of council.

On the 4th of December, 1819, the Duke of Richmond was appointed Colonel of the Royal Sussex (light infantry) militia, which bore the same number as the regiment in which he had served with so much distinction, the 52nd, and of which the Duke was not a little proud. Whenever the Sussex militia were ordered out for temporary drill, or were permanently embodied, the colonel was always the first at his post; he would leave the comforts of his own home to occupy the field-officers' quarters in the hut barracks at Chichester, those on the heights of Dover, in the Castle of Edinburgh, or in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. If in quarters at Brighton, or in camp at Aldershot, there was the Duke to be found, roughing it with his brother officers, dining with them at the mess, and encouraging every rational and innocent recreation. With these feelings strong upon him, it is not to be wondered at, that the gallant colonel supported in his place in the House of Lords, and upon every occasion, the militia force of the United Kingdom. He knew that it formed a nucleus for the army; he felt that the men who had fought nobly for their country belonged to the same class that swelled the ranks of the militia; and he was convinced that, with proper care and attention, the raw material could be worked up to the finest texture, and that the smock frock would never disgrace the red jacket.

With respect to the volunteer movement, the Duke took the same view of it that his former chief, Wellington, had taken ; he considered that, however meritorious and important to the country such an ebullition of feeling was, still the utmost prudence was necessary, so as to place the force upon a proper footing. The sentiments uttered by the Duke of Richmond were very much in accordance with those expressed by his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief upon a recent occasion, and which are alike valuable for the soundness of their sense and their practical bearing.

Although, as Lord Lieutenant of the county of Sussex, his Grace encouraged the volunteer movement, discretion guided him throughout, and he was not carried away by the excitement of the moment to commit himself to any hasty decision. Hence the success that has attended the corps raised in the Duke's immediate county. We have referred to Wellington's opinions, and, to corroborate our statement, lay before our readers a letter he wrote on the subject to the Duke of Buckingham, dated London, November 10th, 1830 :—

“ My dear Duke,

“ I learnt, in conversation with the Secretary of State last night, that he is a little embarrassed by the offers to form volunteer corps which have been made to him. I conclude that your efforts upon this subject have proceeded from what passed between us in conversation at dinner on Monday.

“ To accept an offer of raising a corps of volunteers is not *cheap*, and is always a matter for the exercise of

prudence. To refuse it sometimes occasions feelings of irritation. Upon the whole, it is thought better not to give further encouragement of offers at present.

“ Believe me ever yours, most sincerely,

“ WELLINGTON.”

We now proceed again to notice the interest the Duke of Richmond took in the army, and which can be gleaned from the following records :—

In 1847, when Earl Grey moved the second reading of the Army Service Bill, the Duke of Richmond said, “ That after the statements which the noble Earl, the Secretary of State for the War Department, had made, and particularly after the statements which had recently been made by Lord John Russell, that he had determined to award medals to the veterans of the late war, he could not for a moment believe that Her Majesty’s Government intended to do anything but what they professed, namely, to endeavour to ameliorate the condition of the British soldier. He did most seriously believe that such was their intention ; but, he owned, he looked with considerable hesitation, and much doubt, as to the effect of the Bill then before the House. The noble Lord (Earl Grey) had told them that short periods of service would induce a better class of men to enlist into the ranks of the army ; and, at the same time, he said that dismissal from the ranks would be the best punishment that could be inflicted upon them. Now he (the Duke of Richmond) felt that considerable difficulties would arise under this bill in the case of that portion of our army engaged in foreign service. Suppose a regi-

ment ordered from the West Indies to the coast of Africa. He did not believe many of our soldiers disliked the West Indies after being a little accustomed to it; but supposing that a regiment stationed there were ordered to Africa, and told that their head-quarters was to be at Sierra Leone, how many of those who were within a few months of the expiry of their time would re-enlist for that service? The result would be, that if 200 men were, under the circumstances, to leave the service because they had been ten years in it, it would create the greatest possible dissatisfaction among the 600 who were compelled to go there. He objected very much to the period of service which the Bill proposed.

“Instead of allowing enlistment for ten years, and then if a man chose to enlist for a farther period of eleven years, he (the Duke of Richmond) asked why they did not make the first period of enlistment fourteen years, and then allow a man to re-enlist for seven years more if he chose? This plan would give an inducement to a good man to re-enlist, so that he might get his pension. He hoped his noble friend (Earl Grey) would see whether the Bill could not be altered to this effect. He hoped the House would be told before the debate was finished, whether the soldier who received his discharge when on foreign service would be brought back free to this country; because it would be a perfect farce to ask a man, serving in New South Wales, whether he would re-enlist at the end of his first period of service, if they did not give him a free passage home. This would be offering a man a privilege, but taking good care, at the same time, that he should not

be able to avail himself of it. He (the Duke of Richmond) highly approved of the warrant which was issued by Mr. Sidney Herbert in December, 1845, by which a man who had two good conduct stripes was entitled to his discharge at the end of twelve years' service. That was a good measure, because it offered a great inducement to the men to behave well. But the most effective way to get a better class of men was to increase the pension. There never was a worse measure than that of Lord Hardinge's, which diminished the pension. There was good reason to complain in particular of the miserable, wretched way in which the wounded men of the service were treated. He knew an instance of a soldier who served in the 92nd Highlanders, and who lost his leg in Holland. He came home, and the Chelsea Hospital Commissioners granted him a pension of 9*d.* a-day. But he was now increasing in years, and was not well able to exist along with his wife on that small sum; and he applied to the Commissioners for an increase. With that courtesy which always distinguished them, the Commissioners wrote back, that if his leg was amputated above the knee, a petition might be sent, and laid before the Board for their lordships' consideration. So that, although this old soldier was nearly seventy years of age, because the surgeon had amputated his leg below the knee, forsooth, in place of above it, he was to receive no more than 9*d.* a-day! These were the things which constituted the grievances of the army. He hoped, then, that the Government would see the propriety of increasing the pensions of the soldiers of this country. It was said that this was

expensive ; and so it was ; but, for his part, the more expensive they made war the better he liked it ; for they were not on that account so likely to go to war as in former times.

“The noble Earl (Earl Grey) had talked of enlistment for unlimited service as being a slavery for life. Well, they were going to keep 90,000 men in a state of slavery for life. Was that a judicious thing for the Secretary of State for the War Department to tell the soldier ? But he (the Duke of Richmond) denied that it was a slavery for life ; for if a man chose to behave himself well, he would receive the good conduct stripes, which would entitle him to receive his discharge in twelve years. If the Government wished to benefit their old soldiers, he would tell them what to do. Let them appoint old soldiers to such offices as they might be fit for ; for instance, make them park-keepers, gate-keepers, or messengers in public offices, instead of giving such posts to the sons of voters for members of Parliament.”

This suggestion has since been adopted, not perhaps by the Government, but by the public at large, and a large body of brave men, who have lost limbs in the service, are now in daily employment as messengers from the clubs, and large business establishments at the west end of London.

When the Marquis of Lansdowne, in April, 1849, moved a vote of thanks to the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and the officers and soldiers of the army in India, the Duke of Richmond thus addressed the House :—

“ My Lords, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of giving expression to the feelings of gratification with which I have heard my noble and illustrious friend (the Duke of Wellington) vindicate the high reputation of the 14th Regiment of Dragoons—who in the Peninsular war were second to none in the heroic intrepidity with which they conducted themselves,—who have invariably discharged their duties, both at home and abroad, to the eminent satisfaction of their country and their Sovereign,—but to whom, in the late action, some accident unfortunately occurred which prevented their gallantry from being exhibited to as good advantage as on all former occasions.

“ I well remember the character and achievements of the 14th Light Dragoons, and I also preserve a grateful recollection of the name of the gallant officer who led them in the late campaign, and fell gloriously on the field of battle—Colonel Cureton. That distinguished officer entered the army as a private soldier in the 14th Light Dragoons. I knew him in the Peninsular war as a non-commissioned officer; I watched his progress with the deepest interest, and admired and respected him as one who, by his zeal, intelligence, and steadiness, had raised himself to one of the highest staff positions in the Indian army. I pay this tribute to him, not only out of regard for his memory, but because I think it is right that the example of Colonel Cureton should be held up to the private soldiers of the British army as a subject for imitation and encouragement, to show them that, if they will only do their duty, the highest dignities of their profession will be thrown open to

them, and they may hope to be eventually advanced to positions of the highest authority.

“Connected with the 14th Dragoons, there is a name to which I cannot forbear from alluding—that of the gallant officer who died in leading them to the charge—Colonel Havelock, whom I remember well in the Peninsular war as an officer adorned with the most remarkable abilities, and one who was destined and qualified for the command of men of the most consummate bravery. I do not recollect to have ever met a man who had higher qualifications for command, or one who knew better how to ingratiate himself with his men in the field of action.”

On the 17th of June, 1852, the Duke presented a petition from old lieutenants of the Peninsula army, and those who had served during the war, praying that the brevet rank of captain might be conferred on them; nor was he unmindful of his old friend Colborne, of the 52nd, for, when the order of the day was read for considering Her Majesty's most gracious message, in relation to conferring upon Lord Seaton some signal mark of her favour, in consideration of his services as Governor-General of Canada, and commander of the forces in that province, the Duke of Richmond paid the following just tribute to his old comrade:—

“My lords, having served under my noble and gallant friend, I beg your lordships to allow me to express the gratification I feel on the present occasion in concurring in the sentiments expressed by the noble Viscount (Melbourne) at the head of the Government, and more particularly in what has been stated by the noble duke

(Wellington) with respect to my noble and gallant friend. When I first heard of the rebellion breaking out in Canada, it was a great consolation to me to know that he who had commanded the 52nd Light Infantry in the Peninsula—who had gained the good will of the inhabitants of the country through which he passed—who had obtained the love and respect of the officers and soldiers whom he commanded—who administered justice to all with an equal measure,—was now in the command of Her Majesty's troops in Canada, and I had the highest confidence in him.

“I agree with the noble Viscount in what he has stated, in thinking that to my noble and gallant friend is mainly to be attributed the tranquillity which followed. Having had the honour of serving under his command, I thought I was justified in addressing your Lordships, and I beg to say that I have never been called upon to give a vote which I shall give with more satisfaction than this, for a provision for Lord Seaton, who has a greater claim upon the country for his services than any man alive.”

The Duke never allowed an opportunity to pass without paying a just tribute to the Militia, of which service he was so distinguished an ornament. “But when some said the Militia would be of no use,” remarked his Grace, “he would take them even in Sussex, which was the county, if an invasion took place, that would be invaded, and he would ask whether, when it was necessary to obstruct the roads, to blow down bridges, and to raise defences, the Militia would not cover the labourers when engaged in these occupations? Yet he could have no

hesitation in confessing that, were he to be the *Chasseur Britannique* in Sussex, he would much rather be at the head of a regiment of the line, or the Guards, than lead a regiment of Militia; but, old as he was, he believed they would teach the *Chasseurs de Vincennes*, were they to come into Sussex, the lesson which they had taught the Imperial Guard at Waterloo." In conclusion his Grace remarked, "that he had received seventy letters, including three baronets among the writers, asking for the adjutancy of the Sussex Light Infantry Militia."

Again, on bringing forward the question of Military Rewards, the Duke thus feelingly alluded to his Peninsular comrade in arms, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, when presenting a petition from the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of Wakefield, under their corporation seal, expressing their admiration of the undaunted courage displayed by the Allied forces at Balaklava and elsewhere, but regretting that the number of troops in the Crimea was not sufficient to obtain the object contemplated by the expedition, namely, the fall of Sevastopol. They therefore prayed their Lordships to press on the Government the necessity of bringing all the powers of the empire into operation, in order that the undertaking might be brought to a successful termination. The noble Duke said he need not assure their Lordships that he fully concurred in every word contained in the petition, and he hoped and believed that the Government concurred likewise, and that they intended to reinforce the army as speedily as possible. His Grace then proceeded:

“As he should not be present when the thanks of Parliament to the army were to be proposed, being about to take the command of his regiment of Militia, perhaps their Lordships would permit him to express now his admiration of the conduct of Lord Raglan and his brave soldiers. It was a young army which had had to perform what would have been desperate work even for the most veteran troops. He felt certain that the House and the country would be unanimous in voting their thanks to the army for its heroic conduct. Lord Raglan had exhibited perseverance, quickness, and coolness under fire, which was not surprising ; but he had also shown all the ability of a great general, and he (the Duke of Richmond) trusted that that gallant officer might be spared to return to England to reap the just reward of brilliant success. He was also anxious to take the present opportunity of saying a few words in praise of our gallant sailors. He thought the conduct of the navy, officers and men, to the wounded, the hospitality evinced by the captains and lieutenants of the ships, and the care and attention shown by the medical staff of the navy, merited the best thanks of the army. The navy had done their duty well in every way, including the attack on the harbour of Sevastopol. He hoped, however, that those officers would not be allowed to suffer any pecuniary loss from having had so many sick and wounded men on board their ships ; and he thought the Government should turn its attention to that point, as many naval officers were not in a position to command large private resources, and it would be too bad if the surgeons should suffer pecuniary loss from having gene-

rously and humanely assisted their wounded fellow-countrymen. If the illustrious Duke of Wellington had been alive, he would have said that the army and navy of England had done their duty in a most exemplary manner. He did not doubt that the Government intended to give medals for Alma and the other actions which had taken place; but he must call their attention to the fact that hitherto, when medals were given, they had only been issued to the survivors. If that principle was to be adhered to, the medals ought to be issued immediately after the action for which they were given. How many brave men who had stormed the fortified heights of Alma had since fallen at Inkermann! By the present regulation their representatives would have no medal to show that their relatives or children had been engaged there. When he (the Duke of Richmond) first mooted this question, he was told that the war had so long ceased, that it would be most difficult to discover the representatives of those entitled to medals. That could not be said now.

“There was a compassionate fund to relieve the widows of soldiers, and the medals which their husbands had earned should be bestowed upon them. He did not mean to say that their deep affliction would be entirely removed by the possession of a medal so gallantly won, but that, when time and religion had softened their grief, they would receive it as some consolation for their loss. He thought his noble friend opposite, the Duke of Newcastle, would not consider him out of order in calling attention to this matter. The time was gone by when it could be said the private soldier did

not care for medals. They knew how much they cared for them, and how they prized them; and therefore he trusted the Government would apply the most serious attention to this question, and that it would not only quickly give the medals, but also grant them to the representatives of those who had unfortunately fallen, either in battle, or had been cut off by the pestilential diseases which had unhappily so much prevailed."

Upon the same night the Duke, warmed by the subject, thus alluded to the Peninsular army when the second reading of the Foreigners' Enlistment Bill was moved in the House of Lords by the Duke of Newcastle, and who briefly explained that the object of the measure was to raise a force of foreigners, not exceeding 15,000 in number, to be drilled in this country; quoting, in support of his proposal, the precedent afforded by the various Foreign Enlistment Acts passed in the reign of George III. This gave the Duke of Richmond an opportunity of expressing his sentiments with respect to the German Legion, which had served Wellington so faithfully in Spain and Portugal:—

"I did not rise," said his Grace, "to enter into the merits or demerits of this measure; but I feel bound to reply to one part of the observation of a noble Earl, in which he said that the foreign regiments are not to be compared with English regiments. I hope to Heaven you will not enlist prisoners of war, and I trust to God that you will not admit a deserter into the ranks of your foreign regiments; but I think it only an act of justice to those brave officers who are still alive, and who served

in the German Legion during the last war, to state that on no occasion was that Legion second to the British army, either in zeal or gallantry. The King's 1st German Infantry were attached to the division of the Guards, and were constantly brought out as a reserve when the danger was most imminent. I may mention, that just before the peace was concluded, during the investment of Bayonne, a sortie was made by the garrison, and our General commanding was taken prisoner. The action was a bloody one ; but the Guards and the German Legion did their duty, the one as well as the other. I felt myself bound to make this statement, and I can only say that the light troops of the King's German Legion, under the command of Sir Colin Halkett, now Governor of Chelsea Hospital, rendered as good service as any of our light infantry, and certainly the German cavalry were quite worthy of comparison with the British. If we had had a German Legion at Inkermann, I venture to say that they would have done their duty."

We have only selected the more important of the speeches the Duke of Richmond delivered on this subject, but they will show that his heart was in it. His gallant fight on behalf of his Peninsular brethren proved that he was deeply affected by anything that bore the semblance of injustice, and he displayed a dogged determination in gaining his point. In the Duke of Richmond the army especially has lost a most earnest and conscientious friend, and we fear that no one will take his place in the House of Lords as defender of the Militia. That venerable and useful institution appears doomed, and we cannot refrain from expressing our regret, for,

highly as we esteem the Volunteer movement, it can never prove to the regular army what the Militia was—a speedy and efficacious mode of filling the ranks in any emergency.

CHAPTER XVII.

PRISON DISCIPLINE—SIR J. JEBB—DEATH FOR FORGERY—THE DUKE AND THE POST-OFFICE CRIMINALS—CURIOUS ANECDOTE—THE COMMITTEE ON PRISON DISCIPLINE—ABOLITION OF THE HULKS—PETWORTH GAOL—CONVICT DISCIPLINE—THE DUKE AT PENTONVILLE.

AMONG the miscellaneous subjects to which the Duke of Richmond devoted extreme attention was that of Prison Discipline, which has recently attracted so much controversy between the defenders of the English and the Irish management of convicts. To the Duke, at any rate, the country is greatly indebted for the marked improvements that have been introduced into our prisons during the last few years. In this labour of love the Duke was most ably assisted by an old and valued friend of his father, Sir Joshua Jebb, the present enlightened Inspector-General of Prisons.

As our readers will doubtless be interested in learning the Duke's opinions upon the extreme penalty of the law, the convict system, prison discipline, juvenile offenders, &c., we will lay before them a few of his speeches on these momentous topics.

Upon the abolition of punishment of death in cases of forgery being brought on, June 13th, 1830, "the Duke of Richmond fully concurred in the opinion that the present question should be discussed altogether apart

from any feeling of party. As to his own opinion on the expediency of abolishing capital punishments for forgery, he confessed it much strengthened by learning that a majority of the House of Commons held the same sentiments; that a majority of that House was convinced that capital punishments should be abolished in cases of forgery, amongst other reasons, for the purpose of rendering prosecutors less unwilling to indict, juries and judges less unwilling to convict, and also for the purpose of relieving the Secretary of State for the Home Department from the distressing situations in which he of necessity often found himself. On these grounds, then, he should vote for the clauses as they then stood; but in doing so, he certainly could not, like his noble friend (Earl of Winchelsea) who spoke last, say that he was influenced by any religious scruples. He thought that forgery, coining, horse-stealing, sheep-stealing, and other offences of a like nature, stood exactly upon the same footing. He felt no particular commiseration with the man who committed forgery; for the persons guilty of that offence were, for the most part, persons of tolerable education, and of a rank of life which secured the possession of a certain quantity of knowledge; they were therefore the less to be excused for the commission of a crime that assumed so dangerous a character in a commercial country like England. With such considerations in his mind, he had the less hesitation in voting for the bill in its present form. No doubt he agreed to it as an experiment, but then, as one well worthy to be tried. He would not further detain their Lordships than to observe, that he

thought the secondary punishment, whatever it might be, ought to be a real punishment."

Again in 1834, when the subject of Capital Punishment was mooted in the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond gave the following interesting details respecting the Post Office department, over which he had for some time presided.

"With respect to the clause respecting stealing letters, his Grace felt that capital punishment ought not to be abolished, until some good mode of secondary punishment had been adopted. Their Lordships would bear in mind, in this great commercial country, how numerous must be the letters passing through the Post Office. Not fewer than 100,000 letters every week passed through the General Post Office; and in the Twopenny Post there were 40,000 a day. In the course of a year many millions of money were thus transmitted through the Post Office department. By the regulations adopted there, there was a certain sacrifice of security necessarily made in order to obtain dispatch. Several hundred persons were daily employed in sorting letters.

"These things being considered, he was of opinion that their Lordships would not think he was doing more than his duty when he called upon them to pause ere they consented to an alteration of the law, at least until a plan of secondary punishment was substituted. He knew that the motives of his noble friend were humane and praiseworthy, as well as the motives of the promoters of the Bill in the House of Commons; but it was the duty of their Lordships to see that they did not put in jeopardy the large sums of money which were

transmitted through the Post Office department of the country. The only security which the public had was the honesty of the persons employed in that department, and the fear of punishment which awaited them if they transgressed the laws. There were hundreds of letters returned weekly to the Dead-letter Office, the parties to whom they were addressed not being found; and he believed these letters contained money to the amount of 170,000*l.* during the period he had presided over the Post Office. In one year he recollected the amount of money sent to the Dead-letter Office to be returned to the parties sending it was 25,000*l.* When it was remembered, from the practice of trade, that numerous letters were transmitted with money to meet bills, it must be admitted that it was highly essential security should exist in the transmission of this money.

“ But, above all, it ought to be borne in mind, that the poorer classes, who had neither agents nor bankers, ought to have their little property protected in thus transmitting it by letter—the only regular channel of communication which was open to them. He knew of many cases of great hardship, in which robberies had been committed on the poor in this way, and he would relate one as a specimen. A poor woman in Ireland, whose husband was dead, set up a shop, and her son having enlisted, she was anxious to purchase his discharge, but had no means of doing so except by the sale of a cow. Well, the cow was disposed of, and the money sent by letter to Dublin; but the letter was stolen by some scoundrel, and she was thus reduced to great distress. On his (the Duke of Richmond) hearing

of it, he applied to his noble friend at the head of the War Office (Lord Hill), who, with that kind attention which he has always evinced, immediately directed a free discharge to be sent to the young soldier.

“ With such an instance before him, and he could state many others of a similar description, he could not suffer any mistaken feeling of mercy or compassion to influence his mind, and suffer it to outweigh the duty which he felt was due to the public. He was no advocate for capital punishment, but he must say the Legislature ought to pause and consider well whether a system of secondary punishments should not first be established before they consented to abolish capital punishment altogether. He hoped that during the ensuing recess, his noble friends connected with the Government would find some means to effect so desirable an object.”

When, on the 12th of May, 1835, the two Houses of Parliament reassembled, under the new administration of Lord Melbourne, Sir Robert Peel's Government having resigned prior to the adjournment for the Easter holidays, the Duke of Richmond presented the first report of the Committee, of which he had the honour to be a member, on the subject of Prison Discipline. After referring to the prisons of Newgate, Giltspurstreet, and the Borough Compter, as being in a state tending to corrupt those who were imprisoned in them, and far more likely to increase than diminish the amount of crime, he laid before the House six resolutions adopted by the Committee. The first was, that it was expedient that one uniform system of prison discipline be established in every gaol and house of correction in

England and Wales ; the second, that, for the sake of securing uniformity of discipline, it is expedient that the rules and regulations of the gaols shall in future be submitted to the Secretary of State for his approval, instead of, as at present, to the judges of assize ; the third, that inspectors of prisons be appointed to visit the prisons from time to time, and to report to the Secretary of State ; the fourth, that entire separation, except during the hours of labour and religious worship and instruction, is absolutely necessary for preventing contamination, and for securing a proper system of prison discipline ; the fifth, that silence be enforced, so as to prevent all communication between prisoners, both before and after trial ; the sixth, that persons whose trials have been postponed, or who, having been tried, have been acquitted on the ground of insanity, should not be confined in the gaols or houses of correction.

It is gratifying to notice how thoroughly the Duke recognised the way in which our criminal population should be treated, and that he possessed a thorough grasp of the matter is proved by the fact that nearly all the improvements and modifications he suggested have been carried into effect. Equally fortunate it is, that the work of amendment should have been entrusted to such competent hands as those of the present Inspector-General of Prisons.

The evils of the hulks, which had been so strongly represented in 1836 by the Committee of the House of Lords of which the Duke of Richmond was Chairman, were never lost sight of by Parliament and the country until it was determined in 1848 to take

measures for their final abolition, by the erection of prisons on shore.

The present convict establishments at Portland, Portsmouth, Chatham, and elsewhere are the result ; and there is not now one "floating hell," as they were termed, left to tell the tale of all the horrors that were the result of their neglected condition.

The Duke was always at his post, and on every important question, as it arose, he lent not only his influence but his personal exertions to give practical effect to the solution of the convict question.

In June, 1842, we find an Act passed for establishing a model prison at Pentonville, and his Grace was associated with Lord Wharncliffe, the Earls of Devon and Chichester, Lord John Russell, the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Benjamin Brodie, Dr. Fergusson, Major Jebb, William Crawford, Esq., and the Rev. Whitworth Russell, as a commissioner for its government.

It is a curious fact that the first public movement for the improvement of our prisons was made by the county magistrates, whose humanity and public spirit suggested the necessity and duty of endeavouring to stir up the country to a sense of its neglect. One of the foremost and most distinguished fighters in this good cause was the then Duke of Richmond. We find that* on October 2nd, 1775, at the Quarter Sessions at Petworth, it was ordered, in consequence of the insecurity and insalubrity of the old gaol at Horsham,

* See the Surveyor-General's Second Report on the Construction of Prisons.

that a new prison should be built in conformity with a plan produced by the Duke of Richmond. It appears that his Grace not only furnished the plan of the prison itself, but also of the gaoler's house, chapel, and infirmary. And the report adds:—

“ To the judgment, perseverance, and public spirit of the Duke of Richmond, and to the effectual co-operation of the magistrates of the county of Sussex, associated with his Grace, the public is indebted for the earliest establishment of a system which is destined, we believe, at no distant period, to shed an honourable distinction on those who were instrumental to its first introduction, and which is calculated to confer lasting benefits on our criminal population.”

We need not pause to show how triumphantly this prediction has been fulfilled; we only wished to draw our readers' attention to the fact that the subject of our memoir was probably led to take an interest in prison discipline, through the example of his grandfather.

Upon the Convict Discipline Bill being brought forward, “ the Duke of Richmond felt that he could not add anything to the able arguments which their Lordships had heard respecting the evil of abolishing transportation, and he should therefore confine himself to a very few observations; but he could not help saying that no punishment had proved more effective. It had been announced that as many as 4000 additional convicts were to be kept in the gaols. To that plan he saw several objections, founded on the fact that the gaols were not ready to receive them. The terrors of transportation had been referred to. He could bear his own

testimony to their very weighty influence : he had often spoken to the prisoners in Pentonville, and they thought very lightly indeed of imprisonment in this country, compared with being sent across the water ; for they all had relatives and friends in this country from whom they were most unwilling to part, even the worst criminals being affected by domestic ties.

“As to eighteen months’ imprisonment, he thought it quite too much, unless the prisoners were allowed increased facilities to take the air. It was quite a mistake to suppose that their wives and children would in every case be willing to go with them. He hoped that the Government would reconsider their plan ; and that they would not rashly engage in this scheme ; and that they would seriously reflect upon the expediency of following the advice given them by his noble and learned friend the Chief Justice. He hoped that, instead of carrying out the whole of their plan, they would merely diminish the number of persons transported. It was difficult to say what amount of punishment would operate in repressing crime. He believed that the separation of prisoners from each other and from their former associates, for a short time, did good to all classes ; but the undue extension of that system could not but be attended with the worst results. In his opinion the prison at Pentonville had not yet been sufficiently tested. The period when the first ship went out was most unfavourable—there was no work to be had when the convicts landed, and unfortunately some of them got drunk, and some went astray ; but many of them were most thankful for having been placed in the

Pentonville prison. The hulk system, however, was by no means to be equally commended. Many convicts were made worse rather than improved, by being placed in the hulks. He was glad to hear that the prison inspectors were not to be kept in daily attendance at Milbank Penitentiary, for it was most important that they should visit various prisons in the country with the view to an introduction of an uniform system of discipline.

When Lord Brougham presented a petition signed by the Mayor of Liverpool, by Mr. Rushton, the official magistrates, and by nineteen other magistrates of that borough, with reference to the state of the criminal law, especially as it applied to juvenile offenders, and after a lucid statement from the learned lord, the Duke of Richmond expressed his concurrence with his noble friend in thinking that the thanks of that House were due to the magistrates of Liverpool for this petition, and to his noble and learned friend for the manner in which he had brought it forward.

No subject was more worthy the attention of the House than the alarming increase of juvenile crime. Prison discipline might do much, but there were other measures also necessary. Often a child of nine years old, sent out to commit crime by its unnatural parents, was committed to prison for two months before trial, and subjected to all the influence of evil example; and then at last was found guilty, perhaps of stealing one piece of coal, value one penny or twopence; but on his brow for ever after was stamped the word "felon," and each succeeding year he must become

worse. No doubt inquiry was necessary—no doubt those institutions abroad had effected much good, but he would like to know whether at Mettray they did not select the individuals whom they considered most fit to be subjected to these experiments. He was most anxious for inquiry, but there was another thing which it was necessary to do. You must try and convince the people of this country that it was possible for prisoners to be thoroughly reformed; unfortunately, the general feeling in this country was, that when a man was once convicted he could not get employment.

He knew a remarkable instance of this. A man had committed some offence for which he was sentenced to be transported, but he was committed to Pentonville prison; he there showed symptoms of reformation, and his conduct was so good that the Secretary of State was induced to grant him a pardon. Some one afterwards recommended him to a railway company—he would not name the company—from whom he obtained an appointment as porter. His conduct in this situation was so good, that at the end of six months he was promoted. But at the end of a month after that time, some ill-natured busybody came and informed the directors that he was a convicted felon, and the consequence was that they immediately discharged him from their service.

This case, he thought, afforded a sufficient reason why the public mind should be impressed with the opinion that criminals might be permanently reformed. On the other hand, he was not in favour of that part of

the prison system by which boys who had been sent to these reformatory institutions were really placed in a much better situation than honest boys who had never offended against the law. A general impression also prevailed that transportation was no longer feared by criminals. From his own knowledge he could say that this was not the case; he had himself visited criminals after their sentence—he had found them deeply grieved at the thought of leaving their country, their children, their friends—he had often found them in tears, and he had known some to go into fits so violent that they had not recovered till the next morning. He sincerely hoped that his noble friend would prosecute this inquiry, and that it would embrace the whole subject. He (the Duke of Richmond) was especially interested in it, as having been the Chairman of the Committee on Prison Discipline.

If any further proof were required of the Duke of Richmond's interest in a cause he regarded as sacred, it will be found in the Rev. Mr. Kingsmill's report on Pentonville prison, when, in alluding to the Board of Commissioners, he says in a foot-note:—"I may be permitted to mention one particularly here (the Duke of Richmond), because he has ceased to be a member of the Commission since my last report, to whose constant visits, on the Lord's-day especially, to this prison, the highest rank, the best practical experience, and the strictest love of discipline combined with great kindness, gave more than ordinary weight, as an example to all officers in their treatment of men. I trust his Grace will pardon this remark from one who has had more

opportunities than anyone else in this establishment could have had, of knowing the extent of his kindness to prisoners and, in several cases, to their bereaved families.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DUKE AND THE TURF—WILLIAM IV. — THE ROYAL DINNER TO THE JOCKEY CLUB—GAMBLING—THE DUKE AT GOODWOOD—MR. TEN BROEK—TOUTING—LORD GEORGE BENTINCK—THE TRIAL—THE OLD WOMAN AND THE MUSHROOMS—VERY SHORT ODDS—AWKWARD SUSPICIONS—A FOILED SPECULATION—PUNISHMENT OF A TOUT.

WE have, we trust, fulfilled the promise of our early pages, and shown our readers the Duke of Richmond as a truly public spirited man, who shunned no fatigue or trouble when his country claimed his services. We have followed him through his campaigns and his political career; we have seen how staunch he was to his opinions, and how energetic in his support of those measures which he honestly considered would prove beneficial to his country. In the case of prison discipline, there is ample evidence to show that he was the man to whom we are indebted for giving the first blow to the old bad system, and his example drew the attention of his peers to the subject, which was ventilated, discussed, and commented on, until the results on which the country now has reason to congratulate itself were achieved.

Next to his efforts for the improvement of our prisons, the Duke is to be admired for the energy with which he carried through what he regarded as a simple measure of justice to his brethren in the Peninsula. Either of

these measures would cause his name to be revered by posterity, while the consistency he ever displayed constitutes an example to be diligently studied.

The majority of our readers, however, will necessarily associate with the name of the Duke of Richmond the services he rendered to the turf and to breeding, and as his life would be incomplete without some account of the amusements to which he devoted his leisure hours, the time has now arrived for us to speak of the Duke and the manner in which he spent that portion of his life which he felt himself justified in abstracting from the more earnest claims of the House of Lords. Fortunately the task will be equally pleasant to us, for we shall have further occasion to show the Duke in the character of a public benefactor, and that, in even what may be regarded as the minor details of life, he ever kept his eye fixed on the improvement of public welfare and society.

The Duke of Richmond supported the turf in a manner befitting a true English nobleman; not for the love of gain or gambling, but for the purpose of encouraging the breed of horses, from which the country at large could not fail to derive a considerable profit. With this view he was in a great measure instrumental in inducing the Sovereign to extend his patronage to racing, and in proof of this we find that on May 28, 1833, William IV. gave a grand dinner to the members of the Jockey Club. William IV. was always extremely partial to the Duke of Richmond; he looked up to him as a peer who had no other object in view than the good of his country, no personal ambition to gratify, and that in

accepting office under Lord Grey, he was alone influenced by a wish to prevent that conflict between classes which he felt must have occurred, had not a reasonable reform been granted the people. He knew that the Duke, however disposed he might be to meet the fair demand of those who advocated the abolition of the close boroughs, and the extension of the suffrage, would never be driven by any weight of pressure from without to make the Reform Bill a mere stepping stone for further innovations, and that while he was anxiously endeavouring to lop off decayed branches, his wish was to preserve the parent tree in its primitive grandeur. He also knew the Duke to be a staunch Protestant, a strenuous supporter of Church and State, and felt assured that he would exert his influence to prevent the falling off of either. In a domestic and social point of view he respected the Duke; he admired his simplicity of character, and that noble and gallant bearing which he knew at all risks (when once he considered himself to be right) he would bring to bear in defence of his principles; he, moreover, looked up to him as a soldier who had done his country some service, an honest country gentleman, a friend to agriculture, and a good magistrate. The "sailor king," who loved his own profession, and whose hospitable table at Brighton, Buckingham Palace, and Windsor, could boast of as many "blue jackets" as red coats, never ceased to express his regret that the Duke had left the army; he consulted him with respect to the militia, the state of the country, and the feelings of the classes with whom the Duke mixed in society.

It is a well known fact, however, that the King did

not follow the example of his brothers with regard to the turf; for though he supported it by attending the Ascot meetings, he did not keep up a racing stud. Still his Majesty was thoroughly aware of the advantages attained by the encouragement of the sport. Apart from the notable benefit our country has derived from the improvement of its breed of horses, no little has at the same time been gained by the holding of festive meetings at which King and subject, patrician and plebeian, rich and poor, landlord and tenant, with their respective families, may meet for the common object of recreation and innocent amusement.

It was with this view that King William established an annual dinner of the Jockey Club, which idea had not occurred to any of his predecessors, save the horse-delighting Prince Regent. The Duke of Richmond attended this gathering, and it was indeed mainly owing to his exertions that the turf was thus honoured by his Majesty's patronage.

Gambling has, from time immemorial, been the besetting sin of the English; in vain were laws enacted against it from the time of the Saxons, and up to the present period it continues, both on the turf and in those pandemoniums, public and private, devoted to cards and dice. In the days of good Queen Bess, gambling was as much discouraged at Court as it is in those of Queen Victoria; indeed, during the former reign, we find a regulation at Gray's Inn forbidding all games of chance "at all times of the year, the twenty days in Christmas only excepted."

On the accession of James I., this vice made

rapid strides; and, on the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert, "the King played in the presence, and as good or ill luck seldom comes alone, the bridegroom that threw for the King had the good fortune to win £1000, which he had for his pains; the greatest part was lost by my Lord of Cranborne." The Herberts of that day seem to have been devoted to this passion; for, in a MS. preserved in the Harleian Collection, we find the following anecdote, which goes to prove that loaded and false dice were made use of more than two hundred and fifty years ago:—

"Sir William Herbert playing at dice with another gentleman! (Heaven help the mark) there rose some question about a cast. Sir William's antagonist declared it was a four and a five; he as positively insisted that it was a five and a six; the other then swore, with a bitter imprecation, that it was as he said. Sir William then replied, 'Thou art a perjured knave; for give me a sixpence, and if there be a four upon the dice I will return you a thousand pounds;' at which the other was presently abashed, for indeed the dice were false, and of a high cut, without a four."

The Duke of Richmond, though a patron of the turf, was never a gamester. Although for many years he kept race-horses, and through his exertions brought the meeting at Goodwood from a state of insignificance to one of grandeur, he never gambled on the turf; the odds to five or ten pounds, when he had an animal in for a large sweepstakes, such as the Epsom, Derby, Oaks, or the Drawing-room on his own domain, formed the amount of his betting. That he took an

interest in the sport could be proved by the beam of satisfaction that mantled over his good-humoured countenance when the shouts proclaimed that "the boy in yellow" had "won the day;" he placed the most implicit reliance in his trainers, the elder and younger Kent, who always did their duty in bringing their horses well to the post; he never withdrew a horse because he could not get sufficient money upon him; he discouraged, by precept and example, all the tricks of the "black sheep," whether "legs," trainers, or jockeys.

During the Goodwood race week, his Grace kept open house, and to it every foreigner of distinction, who took any interest in racing, was invited. When Mr. Ten Broek, at that time only known as an enterprising owner of American horses, came first to this country, the Duke invited him to dinner, and showed him every attention in his power.

"You will dine here on the Cup day," said the Duke, as his guest was about to depart upon the previous evening but one.

"I thank you," responded the other, "but so great is my anxiety to win the Cup, and so deeply disappointed shall I be if I fail, that perhaps your Grace will permit my affirmative to be conditional on my success."

"Do not think of staying away on that account," the affable host replied; "a beating will reflect no discredit upon you or your stud; the change of climate and food, the difference of the course, your American jockey—I mean no offence, but our style here is different, and he has not had time to get thoroughly acquainted with the ground—all combine against your prospects of suc-

cess, and if you only make a respectable appearance on Thursday, it ought to be as much as under the circumstances you can reasonably expect. Remember," he continued, "we shall hope to see you Cup day, whether winner or loser."

While on the subject of "Glorious Goodwood," as it has been not inappropriately termed, we must give an anecdote connected with it, and which occurred at the period when the late Lord George Bentinck, the private and political friend of the Duke, was regarded as the leviathan of the turf, an appellation to which his successful support of it, as well as unflinching crusades against all offenders who violated the laws of honour and gentlemanly conduct, fairly entitled him.

The tricks of the turf are proverbial, especially those of the "touting" profession, as will be borne out by our anecdote, the time of which was laid during his Grace's sporting career. Upon a certain occasion, prior to the Goodwood Meeting, Lord George was recommended to try two or three horses that were entered for the Stakes and Cup, and at an early hour on the morning appointed, his Lordship met his trainer on the Downs. The horses were being led about, the jockeys were in attendance and ready to mount, when it occurred to Lord George that some racing Paul Pry might be intruding on his privacy. Directing his trainer to make a small circuit, he himself rode his pony through a small patch of gorse, and, with careful telescope, surveyed the landscape far and near. Not a soul was visible save an old woman, who, with basket

in hand, was busily collecting mushrooms close to the spot where his Lordship had posted himself.

“I cannot see any one,” said the trainer on his return, “so we can begin whenever you like.”

The order was given, the jockeys mounted, and were about to start, when the old woman, who had drawn nearer to Lord George, was found to be on the course.

“Take care, good woman,” his Lordship exclaimed, “or you will be run over.”

The good woman looked up, put her hand to her ear as if to indicate that she was deaf, and held out her basket. Lord George impatiently threw her five shillings for the contents, and the trial began. It came off very differently from what his Lordship expected, for a three-year-old filly of his, entered for the stakes, and against which the betting was fifty to one, won her trial in a canter, and so good did Lord George think her performance, that he lost no time in despatching a messenger to Tattersall’s with a letter, authorising his commissioner to back her for a considerable amount.

Nothing could exceed Lord George’s delight, for he felt perfectly assured that he should net at least ten thousand pounds by the event. He, therefore, put a friend he had appointed to meet, up to the good thing, and himself leisurely rode to the Swan, at Chichester, where a few betting men had already congregated, and thinking that he might as well do a stroke of business on his own account, he strolled into the coffee-room.

“Do you want to do anything on the stakes, my Lord?” one of the betting fraternity asked him.

“I want to take the odds to five or ten,” he answered, “about my filly.”

“I’m full against the filly,” the other answered, “but perhaps Mr. —— will do it.”

Lord George turned to Mr. ——, who was proverbial for his liberality.

“I can lay you three to one,” he said, “to a small sum. I’ve just taken four to one myself.”

“Three to one!” the owner asked himself, surprised at the sudden change in the aspect of affairs. “What can have occurred? Is it possible that the friend to whom I entrusted the secret can have betrayed me?”

Thus thinking, Lord George, hurriedly leaving the room, wended his way to the stables.

We must here remark that this affair took place at a time when electric telegraphs and railways were as yet not known; so Lord George calculated that his letter, despatched to London, would be delivered by about twelve o’clock, or in ample time for his commission to be executed.

Consoling himself with this reflection, Lord George passed the day in comparative security, and it was not until the post arrived on the following morning that the truth was brought home to him. His trial must have been watched, for he found that no sooner had his commissioner opened the letter than he hastened into the subscription room, prepared to lay out at least a couple of hundred pounds on the filly, but the same scene that had occurred near the Cross at Chichester (no inappropriate name by the way) took place in London at the Corner. The filly, instead of being at a hundred to one,

was now at four ; so, instead of booking ten thousand to two hundred, all Lord George's commissioner could get was sixteen hundred to two.

But, apart from the loss of actual profit, a more serious question was involved, for that some one had betrayed the secret was as clear as the sun at noonday, but who the traitor was baffled all powers of detection. The friend, the trainer, the jockey, all came in for a most unjust suspicion, and Lord George had almost made up his mind to quarrel with the former, and dismiss the latter, when breakfast was announced at the Swan, whither business had called him.

"I have had the mushrooms stewed, my Lord," said the waiter, "which your Lordship's groom gave me yesterday. They are very fine indeed, your Lordship."

"And so they ought to be," his Lordship exclaimed, dashing his hand on the table, and almost demolishing the breakfast service, as the truth flashed across his mind for the first time ; "that horrid old woman was the culprit, and this hateful dish has cost me £8400, independent of the five shillings I gave the old harridan, or, strictly speaking, some touter in disguise."

"Are you the nobleman," the waiter asked, "who had the trial yesterday morning?"

"I am," Lord George replied, trying to look unconcerned, but, we fear, failing in the attempt.

"It was that rascal — in disguise," the waiter continued ; "he was at his dirty work again this morning, but one of the jockeys was down on him, and the latest intelligence I have is that the tout was ducked in a horsepond ; and serve him right, my Lord."

The case was now complete; the tout, employed by some unprincipled scoundrels, had watched the trial, and two stable lads were within a mile, ready to convey letters to London and Chichester. They both reached their destination before his Lordship's messengers, and the most mortifying part of the business was, that the filly really won, and her owner only pocketed two thousand pounds besides the stakes.

To show that this system of rascality still exists, we have only to remind our readers that previous to the Derby of 1860, a man was discovered watching a trial, dressed in the garb of a Dissenting Minister, and administering tracts to all who came near him. Whyte Melville must have had a prevision of this when, in that most amusing book, "Digby Grand," he introduced a similar character.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DUKE AND THE GAME LAWS—WELLINGTON'S OPPOSITION—THE QUI TAM ACTIONS—THE DUKE'S OPINIONS ABOUT BETTING—ABSURDITY OF THE LAWS—DEBTS OF HONOUR—PRESENT STATE OF THE BETTING RING.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Duke of Richmond devoted his exclusive attention to horse racing. On the contrary, he was always a staunch supporter of the manly games of England, and was never more happy than when attending a cricket or racket match, the gathering of the clans at Inverness, or other meetings of a similar character. The Duke felt that to these athletic pursuits the indomitable pluck of the brave defenders of our country was in a great measure to be attributed; and he believed that the gallant and enduring qualities of the British soldier and sailor, during the protracted campaign of the Peninsula, on the blood-stained plains of Waterloo, or at Trafalgar, under the torrid sun of India, and amid the ice of the Crimean plateau, might be traced, in great measure, to the national sports of our sea-girt island.

With these views the Duke was ever ready at his post in the House of Lords to support the pastimes of the country. Thus we find that on the 19th of September, 1831, the Duke of Richmond moved the commitment of a bill having for its object a very extensive alte-

ration in the Game Laws which had recently passed the other House. After the many discussions which had taken place on this subject, both beyond and within those walls, he did not think that it was necessary to detain their Lordships with many observations on the measure. He considered the Game Laws as they stood at present to be most unreasonable, unjust, arbitrary, and oppressive. They were bad in principle, and produced the most demoralising effects. The first and greatest defect of those laws was, that the Legislature prevented the buying or selling of game, a principle which could not be supported either by the law of humanity or of nature.

If those laws were bad in principle, they were worse in practice; because, being unjust and oppressive, they were constantly violated, and the consequence was that a general contempt for the laws of the realm was fostered and encouraged. The first object of the present measure was to make that innocent in the eye of the law which was innocent in the eye of reason; and, with that view, it was proposed to do away with all the enactments that prevented the sale of game, and to suffer it to be vended, subject only to such restrictions as appeared absolutely necessary.

The second great defect of this code was, the unjust and oppressive character of the law of qualification. A person possessed of lands or tenements to the amount of £100,000 a year, might be so situated as not to be qualified to kill game, while his own son and heir enjoyed that privilege. The law was here, as in almost every other part, extremely unjust and oppressive; and, like

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all bad laws, they were inefficient to accomplish the purpose for which they were enacted. The system was also attended with this baneful consequence—it increased and heightened the feuds between the higher, the middle, and the lower classes. By the 22nd and 23rd of Charles II. a penalty of five pounds, or imprisonment for three months, was inflicted on any unqualified person for shooting at a hare or partridge. When an unfortunate labourer committed this offence, what was the consequence? He could not pay the fine; he was incarcerated, and his wife and children were cast upon the parish. What must be the feelings of that man when he saw a neighbouring gentleman allow his younger sons and his friends to do that, they having no right to do it, for which he was punished.

He might be told that a poacher was a very worthless and bad character. He did not stand up there to defend poachers, but to deprecate the law which impelled individuals to become poachers. The labourer knew that, legally, he could not kill game, though it fed on his property; but he knew, also, that thousands in this capital would have game at their tables, and he felt that by some means or other the market must be supplied. The result was that he became a poacher, and thus the laws gave to the poacher the monopoly of selling game. The labourer could not stand the temptation; it was too much for him. He violated the law, and after the first fatal step he was too often hurried on in his career of guilt and crime, till he finished a life of infamy on the scaffold, the victim of strong temptation. Would their Lordships believe, that in three years, from 1827 to

1830, 8,502 persons were, according to a document laid before the House of Commons, convicted of offences against the Game Laws in England and Wales, many of those individuals being under eighteen years of age? Some of these persons were transported for life, and some for seven or fourteen years. It appeared from the same document that one-seventh of the whole criminal convictions in England and Wales during the period to which he had referred, were on account of infractions of the Game Laws. Surely it was high time to make an effectual alteration in a code of laws which produced every species of misery.

He would not now enter into the details of this measure; it would be better to defer that to a future stage of the bill. He would only state, that the principle of the bill was in perfect accordance with the principle of the British Constitution. He concluded by moving that the House do resolve itself into a Committee on the bill.

After the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Westmoreland had expressed their sentiments against the bill, the Duke, in reply to some remarks that had fallen from them, observed, that as the law now stood, it was certainly violated, for there were many persons in the highest ranks of life who were not by law qualified to shoot game. Foreign ambassadors were not; nor were many Irish and Scotch peers qualified as to England; peers' second sons were also unqualified, and yet all these persons were in the daily habit of violating the law; the consequence of which was, that offences against the Game Laws were nowhere considered as crimes.

He liked the trespass clause best of all in the bill, for he thought that a man ought to be the acknowledged owner of his own land, so that he committed no nuisance upon his neighbour. Unfortunately for the cause, the Duke of Wellington was diametrically opposed to the measure.

His Grace said : " I have invariably objected to bills of this kind, not because I approve of the existing laws, but because no bill which has ever been brought forward, not even the present, effected the object which the noble Duke and others profess to have in view. By the bill now before your Lordships, game is considered as property. This is a new principle. Heretofore, the right to kill game only has been treated as property. I think that when your Lordships come to consider the bill in Committee, you will be of opinion that it will not prevent the evils which have been complained of. The subject of complaint is the breach of the law ; but the law would be broken as frequently after the bill passed as it is now. The present bill affords greater facilities for the sale of game than any of the bills which have been rejected by your Lordships on former occasions. The killing of game forms the chief amusement of country gentlemen. It causes a large expenditure of money in the country, and affords employment to thousands of people. This expenditure of money and employment of people would cease were gentlemen deprived of the exclusive right of killing game, which they have possessed in this country for nearly five hundred years. It is worthy of observation, that in every country of Europe, except France, the

gentry possess the exclusive right of pursuing game. There is one defect in the enactment of the bill before your Lordships to which I beg to call the attention of the noble Duke. The bill inflicts a penalty for trespass only. Now, if a tenant, holding land on which the right of shooting has been reserved to the landlord, should kill game on that land, I do not see how he can be punished, because it is clear that the penalty under the bill for trespass cannot be inflicted, since he has the right to go on the land. This is a point which requires consideration."

The Duke of Richmond said the clause to which the noble Duke referred should be altered pursuant to his suggestion, and the bill went through a Committee—to be recommitted.

On the 23rd of September, the Duke of Richmond moved the order of the day for the recommitment of the bill, which was strenuously opposed by the Duke of Wellington, who urged a postponement until the present game season was over.

The Duke of Richmond protested against any postponement; the bill sanctioned the sale of game, and it had received the assent, he might say, the unanimous assent—for there had been no division in the House of Commons—and probably this part of the bill would also receive their Lordships' concurrence. Now the inconvenience of delaying the passing of the bill was this, that during a great part, and that the busiest part of the present game season, magistrates would frequently punish persons by fine and imprisonment for an act which both Houses of the Legislature had solemnly

sanctioned. They had better submit to some inconvenience than have 2,000 persons sent to prison for what, some days afterwards, would cease to be an offence. Had their Lordships any idea of the extent to which the sale of game was carried on? One salesman came to him to tell him, that last year he had sold 20,000 head of game, and that some weeks he had sold 1,500 head.

In consequence of a powerful majority, the Duke withdrew his motion, and moved that a Select Committee be appointed, and the bill referred to it. A Committee was accordingly appointed.

At a later period, namely, June 26, 1848, the Duke thus expressed his sentiments in the House of Lords when the game certificate for Killing Hares Bill was discussed. The Duke of Richmond said that he was of opinion that hares did a great deal of harm. After all, this bill would only allow a man to do what he liked with his own; for hares, when they were on a farmer's land, were his own property. For his own part, he thought a farmer ought to have the power of killing all kinds of game when they were on his land. He thought a farmer ought to have the power of killing pheasants whenever he saw them on his land.

Again, when a crusade had been made against the leash, the Duke of Richmond presented a petition from a place in Suffolk, complaining that a number of informations had been laid against the petitioners and others for penalties, for having been present at coursing matches, at which dogs belonging to persons not having certificates had run, and wished to know from the Government whether there would be any objec-

tion to furnish returns of the convictions under these informations.

A more important question to the sporting world, and one which threatened very serious consequences to those engaged in turf pursuits, occupied the Duke's attention, namely, the repeal of an obsolete Act of George II. respecting horse racing. Accordingly, on the 3rd of March, 1840, the Duke of Richmond requested their Lordships to permit the first reading of a bill which had been rendered necessary by certain late transactions of a vexatious character. An Act had been passed in 1740, which prohibited any person from running more than one horse in a race, or from running any horse otherwise than in his own name. That Act, up to the present time, had never been carried into effect. Neither, indeed, could it; because, if a person bought a horse under an engagement, it must run under that engagement, as a matter of course. Yet, according to that statute, the horse was forfeited, and the owner became liable to a penalty.

The Act was hardly known, indeed, until some very clever solicitor lately ferreted it out, and served notice of action upon six gentlemen under its provisions. Now, according to that law, a member for a borough or county subscribing 10*l.* or 20*l.* to the races held there, was liable to a penalty, or any number of gentlemen entering for a sweepstakes. His late Majesty, who kept race-horses for the purpose of encouraging an amusement which all could enjoy, and of maintaining the breed of horses, frequently ran three horses in one race, and that in the name of the Master of the Horse.

His Majesty, by doing so, was liable, under this Act, to one of the penalties, and the forfeiture of the horses, and the Earl of Albemarle to another penalty.

The Act had clearly fallen into desuetude, and therefore he called upon their Lordships to repeal it, since it could only be made use of to extort money from persons who were perfectly ignorant of its existence. The bill would go to repeal that part of the 13th of George II. which contained the enactments to which he had referred. He had adopted the precedents afforded by a bill brought into Parliament by Sir W. Follett some years ago, and another introduced last year by the Attorney-General; the one relating to pluralities, the other concerning newspapers, so that in the cases of actions already instituted, the party might get his costs, but not recover the penalties.

The bill, unopposed, was read a first time; and having passed through its respective stages, the Royal assent was given by Commission to it.

Again, in 1844, the Duke of Richmond moved the second reading of the Bill to Repeal Penalties on Horse Racing; and after Lord Brougham had urged his Grace to withdraw it, and the Bishop of London had expressed his hope that, in the event of another bill being brought in, it would be very different to the present one, the Duke of Richmond rose to complain that the Right Reverend Prelate had hazarded an opinion with regard to this bill before an opportunity had been afforded him of stating its object.

His object was to destroy fraudulent betting, and to restrict considerably all other betting. He objected to

the Right Reverend Prelate's description going forth to the country, when the very object of the bill was the reverse. He was not, however, obstinate upon this subject. He (the Duke of Richmond) did not bet himself, and he objected to a great deal of the betting which took place on the turf at present. Indeed, he believed that, if the system of betting was not checked, the turf would soon be deserted. His bill was meant to protect other manly sports.

At present no one could play a game of cricket, where the loser paid the expenses of the ground, without rendering himself liable to a *qui-tam* action. He happened to be one of those who wished to encourage manly sports; he thought them of great importance, and that they had been of late too much discouraged. He hoped that their Lordships and the other House of Parliament would, in all future enclosure bills, if not in separate bills for the purpose, set aside a portion of land near the large towns, to which the people might resort for manly amusement. It was better that they should do so than go to the beer-shops, where they became sullen and discontented—for all men, rich as well as poor, stood in need of amusement.

It was this object which induced him to take up the question, and he believed that this bill would effect all that he said. He did not wish to put himself in opposition to his noble and learned friend (Brougham); he would postpone his bill for the present; but he hoped that the bill, which would get rid of the *qui-tam* actions, would be allowed to go through as quickly as possible. He trusted that their Lordships would adopt at once a measure

which would defeat the attempts of a set of scoundrels who had been turned off the turf during the last year for not paying the bets which they had lost. They had endeavoured to wrench Acts of Parliament to their own purposes, not with the view to promote the public good, but to gratify their revenge and fill their pockets. Desiring to act upon the suggestion of the noble and learned lord, he would rather postpone the order of the day for the second reading of the bill before the House, and bring in another bill to prevent the mischief intended to be perpetrated by these *qui-tam* actions. He hoped that none of their Lordships would suppose that he had any intention by this bill to increase or promote the practice of gambling.

After some further remarks from other noble Lords, and in reply to Lord Campbell, who said that bets on horse racing should be considered debts of honour, his Grace replied, that they were debts of honour now, but men made bets who had no honour; and what was to be done with them? This was the cause of the *qui-tam* actions. These fellows had no character to lose. If they lost 5,000*l.*, they did not think their characters worth that sum, and therefore would not pay it. He entirely concurred with the Lord Chief Justice (Denman), and would, therefore, move that the order of the day for the second reading of the bill should be discharged, so that his noble friend might move that the whole subject should be referred to a Select Committee.

The existing law was absurd and contradictory. At the present moment they might bet £100,000 on a race

which was run, if, by means of a pigeon or otherwise, they had obtained information of the result, and this bet, it had been decided again and again, could be recovered in a court of law. In like manner, one of their Lordships might bet that he would go to Palace Yard and meet twenty lawyers in their wigs in the course of an hour, and this bet could be recovered; but if he bet upon a race-horse, it would not be recoverable. If, however, the race-horse ran for nothing, the bet could be recovered.

The subject was then referred to a Select Committee, and the bill finally passed into a law.

In pursuing this straightforward course, and showing the absurdity of the existing system, we have seen that the Duke of Richmond did not act from any interested motives. As one of the noblest patrons of the turf, it was his desire to render all persons connected with it keenly alive to a sense of honour. By removing obsolete restrictions the turf would, in all probability, be weeded of many bad characters who took advantage of the law to evade the fulfilment of their engagements, and though the Duke had no desire to prevent betting on horse racing, or any other sport, for he knew that it was an innate passion with Englishmen to decide matters of dispute by trial of wager, he wished to abolish at once all excuse for evasion and trickery.

Unfortunately the Legislature was affected by a sudden fit of morality, as is now and then the case, and the sudden increase of Derby and other sweeps aroused a great commotion. A portion of the press declared this public gambling an open scandal, stated that it occasioned clerks and persons in responsible situations to rob, for

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the sake of satisfying their propensity, and the Houses of Parliament were induced to pass a measure, from which the most important results were anticipated. Betting was put down by the strong arm of the law, and henceforth, it was triumphantly asserted, England would revert to its state of pristine morality.

Unfortunately these expectations have not been fulfilled—betting on every description of sport still continues, and will continue to the end of the chapter; but the character of the betting ring has deteriorated. Englishmen will still bet as before on the Derby and the St. Leger, but while prior to the passing of the Act they could entrust their money to respectable men, who had a position at stake, they now, in too many instances, are forced into hole and corner proceedings, and are very frequently swindled. That the character of the betting ring has deteriorated, by swamping it with a great number of individuals who make a living by gambling, and seek the ægis of Tattersall's, may be seen by a glance from the Grand Stand on any Derby day, while the extraordinary throng collected there proves that legal enactments are most inefficacious to remove the propensity for gambling.

Nor, on a perusal of the police reports, do we find that the number of criminals who have been led into crime by betting on horse races has seriously diminished. At the time when the moral fit was so strong on the nation, culprits were very apt to squeeze out a tear, and whine that betting was the cause of it all. We believe that, in many of these cases, it was but a mere pretext; at any rate, a prisoner does not now hope to excite

sympathy by alleging such an excuse, and yet hardly a month elapses but some clerk who has defrauded his master, or a butler who has pledged the family plate, pleads the old excuse at the bar of the Old Bailey in mitigation of his sentence.

Moreover, the law has created an anomaly which ought not to exist in England; while every man who is rich enough can secure exemption by becoming a member of Tattersall's, many hundreds, who consider that they have an equal right to live by the exercise of their talents, are compelled to ply their avocation in the open air. They positively can find no shelter; if a landlord harbours them he runs a risk of losing his licence, and hence betting rings are formed in our public streets, and lead to a scandal, police interference, and a general feeling on the part of the public that there is one law for the rich, another for the poor.

The law, then, being impotent to check gambling on horse races, the defenders of the measure assert that they have achieved a great step in advance by removing the temptations. Now-a-days, if a clerk wish to bet, he must first find the occasion, after some research; and if he be swindled—well, it serves him right, and will be a lesson to him for the future. But the legal wisdom of the nation has left out of sight the old saying that every betting man begins by being a pigeon and ends by being a hawk; and it seems to us that a man with a natural tendency to gambling, if he have been robbed two or three times, may feel inclined to get back his own in the same manner.

But these speculations would lead us too far: our only object in alluding to the subject was, that we feared

lest some of our readers might feel disappointed at finding that the Duke of Richmond, a man in all other respects so good and virtuous, should compromise his character by sanctioning a proposal for rendering betting on horse racing legal. Wise in his generation, of two evils the Duke thought it better to choose the least ; and after regarding later events, we do not think any one will be prepared to blame the course he took.

CHAPTER XX.

GOODWOOD RACE-WEEK—THE DUKE OF YORK—TRICKS OF THE TURF—
AN ORIGINAL—THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE—A PRACTICAL JOKE—
LORD GEORGE BENTINCK—THE COCKED HAT STAKES—AN INDEPENDENT
VOTER—PRESENT STATE OF GOODWOOD RACES.

ALTHOUGH Goodwood House was at all seasons of the year an agreeable residence for visitors, its glories culminated during the Race week, when it became the gathering-place for all the great and noble in the land, who were cordially greeted by the Duke. Were a list published of all the guests who have visited the Duke of Richmond given here, it would occupy too much of our space ; but among the printed records we notice the names of the King of Holland, once the Duke's brother aide-de-camp in the Peninsula, the Duke of York, the Duc de Nemours, and nearly the entire Peerage. It must not be supposed, however, that the Duke of Richmond kept up any class distinctions, for he himself occupied too elevated a position ; and hence we find in the visiting lists the great racing names of past and present, foreign and English. An honoured guest was Dr. Hair, the saviour of the Duke's life in the Peninsula ; and Mr. Ten Broek, the American sporting representative, was greeted with a warmth which that gentleman was fully able to appreciate.

The Duke always looked forward to the Goodwood race week with pleasure ; it was a cessation from his parliamentary duties ; he much preferred the sea breezes and brisk air of the Sussex Downs to the heated atmosphere of London, in addition to which he looked forward to his visit to Gordon Castle, which immediately followed Goodwood, and where he thoroughly enjoyed himself, whether at the Castle or Glenfiddick, a shooting-box some little distance off.

The Duke, Duchess, and other members of the family, usually arrived at Goodwood the week before the races, and a few intimate relatives and friends joined the party on the Saturday previous to the meeting, and on the Monday the whole of the company arrived. It was a cheery sight on a beautiful clear summer's day, the sun intensely hot, the breeze from the ocean freshening the air, to enter the park and drive up to the house. From fifty to a hundred horses in training might be seen walking or cantering on the green velvety sward. Under the shade of the old ancestral trees, in front of the mansion, the Duchess was waiting to welcome her guests with that sunny smile and warmth of manner peculiar to this beautiful scion of the Paget family.

Under the marquee, which was always erected on these occasions, the merry laugh of the owner might be heard, now conversing with his old friend the Admiral (Rous), or listening to one of the brilliant sallies of repartee from his parliamentary colleague, Lord Derby—expatiating upon the merits of his stud with General Peel, of his flock of Southdowns with Lord Strafford—now enjoying the sayings of that best of company, George Payne—

listening to some fun that his brother Lord William had got up—good-humouredly bearing the sly hits that were thrown at him on the subject of Protection, some wicked wag, of course a relative, having, at the breakfast table, pinned a label on a huge loaf, “free trade,” and on the most diminutive roll one of “protection.” Then, as the carriages arrived, the Duke, with the utmost cordiality, and an absence of all formal ceremony, would welcome those invited to enjoy the hospitalities of the week.

On the lawn, under the colonnade, in the High Wood, in the park, studded with fir trees, groups might be seen of those staying in the house. The park reminds one of a passage we must quote from Geoffrey Crayon: “There is something august and solemn in the great avenues of stately oaks that gather their branches together high in air, and seem to reduce the pedestrians beneath them to mere pigmies. An avenue of oaks or elms is the true colonnade that should lead to a gentleman’s house. As to stone and marble, any one can rear them at once, they are the work of a day; but commend me to the colonnades that have grown old and great with the family, and tell by their grandeur how long the family has endured.”

But the dressing-bell is heard, and, as the Duke kept up his habits of punctuality, he was ever ready at his post to receive his guests, and woe to her or him who was absent when dinner was announced, as good-humoured raillery was sure to be the result.

At eight o’clock the dinner was served in a room originally intended for a picture gallery, but converted into a ball-room on the coming of age of the present

duke. The table was decorated with several handsome specimens of gold and silver plate, among them being cups won by the late Duke at races or agricultural meetings. In addition to these were pieces of plate presented to his father, one large tazza being made of snuff-boxes given to that duke while lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and bearing the names of the towns that presented them.

After dinner a talented *artiste* from Chichester was engaged to play quadrilles, waltzes, and polkas, and the usual dining-room being cleared, the young people danced until past midnight, while a whist table and a billiard-room offered their attractions to the elder generation. A custom prevailed during the race week which somewhat surprised the late King of Holland, the Duc de Nemours, and other foreigners. The moment that the ladies retired from the room, the list of the following day's racing was read aloud, and bets offered upon the several events; and, although the betting was not high, except on particular occasions, or when some inveterate better was present, the excitement kept up was great. On the Cup Day, from time immemorial, the health of the noble owner of Goodwood was proposed by the person of highest rank in the company, and briefly responded to by his Grace.

We may be allowed to interpolate a curious anecdote relating to the late Duke of York's visit to Goodwood. His Royal Highness, anxious to see the house, was shown over the libraries and drawing-room, and picture gallery, by one of the Duke of Richmond's brothers. A small room that opened into the library was the one in which the duke transacted his business; and his guns, swords and pistols were deposited in a glass case. The Royal

visitor looked carefully at all, and after noticing some of the firearms, his attention was attracted by a pair of duelling pistols. He looked at them; made some remarks about their maker, and added that he did not think they had been used. Lord William turned the conversation, for he was well aware, through having often borrowed them from his father to practise with in Canada, that they were the very pistols used in the memorable duel with the Duke of Richmond, in which a curl of his Royal Highness's hair was hit.

The Duke during the race-week generally got down by half-past eight, breakfasted alone, or with a chosen friend at nine, and would devote an hour, before going to the races, to showing his flock to some brother agriculturist. In the meanwhile his guests dropped into the breakfast-room at intervals, or whiled away the time before the beginning of the races in the tent, on the lawn, or the seats under the colonnade, which was always a favourite lounge. As twelve o'clock strikes, a close carriage and four, the postillions in red and white striped jackets, the footmen in rich white and red liveries, turned up with silver and turned down with yellow, an open landau and pair, a brougham, a phaeton, a break with post-horses, are at the door, with a few ponies and horses for those who like a canter over the downs—and there might be seen a phalanx of beauty and fashion. The well-bred Chesterfield mounts his phaeton, and takes by his side the gallant James Macdonald, whose Crimean deeds have rendered him truly popular. The Duke, accompanied by his brother-in-law Anglesey, or Admiral Rous, who may sing

“all in the Downs the *fleet* are met,” applying Dibdin’s nautical song to the racers on the South-downs, wend their way to the course on horseback; while the brave Duke of Cambridge, the enlightened Duke of Bedford, and the gallant Eglintoun—both now, alas! no more; the brilliant Derby, the unassuming Exeter, the well-informed Hartington, the popular Strafford, the sensible Peel, the agreeable Canterbury, the North Briton Glasgow, the lively animated George Payne, the Duke’s brothers George, William, and Arthur, his Grace’s sons Henry, Alexander, and George, attend to the ladies, the gallant Prince Edward of Saxe Weimar and the Princess, the Earl and Countess of Bessborough, following in a neat open carriage.

A portion of the Grand Stand was divided off for the Goodwood party, and luncheon was sent there from the house. After the races, tea tables—for fashionable lords and ladies cannot do without their “kettledrum” an hour or two before dinner—were laid out in the garden in front of the conservatory.

On the last day of the races, the Friday, a party from Goodwood generally went into Chichester for the ball, which was in most years well attended. On Saturday, the stable-yard, in the good old posting days, might be seen full of carriages, from the lumbering coach to the neat mail phaeton, and a regular regiment of post-horses was assembled to convey the guests away. In railway days flies were in attendance, and by midday scarce a visitor was left. All left, however, with but one feeling, that of gratitude to the noble host and hostess for a most delightful week.

During the race-week many of the guests would leave their beds, and proceed to the course in order to see a favourite take its gallop. Others would pass hours at Waterbeach and other localities in the neighbourhood where the highly-trained horses were stalled, and form their opinion as to the probable result of the coming race, or pick up some useful hints as to events yet to be pulled off.

On one occasion a report was spread, that a horse belonging to an earl, then a guest at Goodwood, was to be "nobbled," that is to say, rendered unfit for running by some scoundrels. The trainer was alarmed, and it was considered necessary to prevent any such attempt. Of course, the police could not be employed in an affair of such a private nature, and it was difficult to find a good night watchman. A countryman, however honest, would not have been up to the tricks of the nobblers, who would not hesitate to poison water, throw drugged beans into the manger, or run a nail into the horse's foot.

In this emergency it was suggested by Lord William Lennox, that a man called Mike, well-known at Her Majesty's Theatre, whose vocation it is to call carriages and cabs, was the most suitable person. He was aware of London tricks, as he had often watched pickpockets and swell-mobsmen, who carried out Filch's plan of waiting upon ladies and gentlemen when leaving the Opera House, and, moreover, he was known to be honest. He was applied to and consented to act, and faithfully did he execute his office, for when, at a very early hour, Lord William, as an old soldier, went his rounds to see

whether his sentry was at his post, he found him vigilant. Mike had no cause of complaint, as the owner of the horse made him a liberal present.

Among the minor celebrities who visited the Goodwood course was Jerry, who was accidentally killed at Chichester during one race week. He was a remarkably clever fellow, full of wit and tact. For instance, being asked on one occasion why he did not wear a coat given him by a gentleman generally supposed to be "hard up," he replied, "I feared I should be taken up for it, as it was never paid for." Jerry was the original "cocked hat man," who sold correct cards of the races: many spurious copies have existed, who possessed all the impudence without the tact of the great master. A good anecdote has been told of him by a noble writer in the "Sporting Review," which merits quotation.

His Lordship was once summoned from Doncaster during the races to attend the sick-bed of a friend. He left the course in the hope of getting a conveyance, for railways were not in those days, but he could not procure one. In this emergency he met Jerry, who tormented him to buy a card; his Lordship answered him peevishly, and said he was too much occupied with his own thoughts. Jerry called his Lordship on one side.

"You seem, my lord," he said, modestly, "to have lost: I can get you a chaise at the next posting-house on the London road, and if you will excuse me, I can advance ten pounds—you may not have the money about you."

The delicacy with which the offer was made reflected

great credit on Jerry, who fancied his lordship had lost a large sum. The latter, of course, declined the loan, but availed himself of the chaise, which, without Jerry's assistance, he could not have obtained.

During the Goodwood race-week, the Duke never forgot the officers quartered at Chichester, and the three senior officers were always invited to dinner on the Grand Day. This compliment was duly appreciated; for it was well known that, in addition to the guests in the house, the Earl of March's party from Molecomb always joined the late Duke's circle. The Duke of Cambridge annually honoured Goodwood by his presence in the race week, and generally availed himself of the opportunity to inspect the troops quartered at Chichester. When so engaged, he was always attended by the gallant head of the Lennox family, who, though no longer in the army, felt the deepest interest in its welfare. Although the commanding officer was never likely to be taken aback by the unexpected arrival of the Commander-in-chief, the Duke of Richmond generally intimated to the officer commanding the regiment or depôt the probability of His Royal Highness riding into the barracks at an early hour. In this way, officers who might otherwise have been absent on leave for the day, were always present at their posts.

It was by acts such as these that the Duke endeared himself to the officers of the army, who felt that they were not merely asked to dinner, as in too many instances, to fill up a gap, or be useful at a dance; but that on every occasion when a State dinner was given, they were never overlooked. It would be well were the Duke of

Richmond's example more generally followed in England, for in many districts no attention whatever is paid to our brave defenders.

To show the tact, good temper and noble bearing the Duke displayed, we will briefly refer to an occurrence that took place a few years back, during a race-meeting at Goodwood. A distinguished *artiste*, now no more, who had, or fancied that she had, some cause of aggrivance against a nobleman, whom she supposed to be one of the guests, and who was anxious to see him on the subject, drove up to the door, alighted from her carriage, and, finding the front entrance open, which had been purposely left so through the heat of a July day, entered the hall. A door to the right opened into the drawing-room, where, among other distinguished ladies, was the Duchesse de Nemours; while another on the left led to the passages and other apartments.

Fortunately the strange lady went to the left, or the cream of English society would have been somewhat surprised by the apparition of a visitor in a morning dress. As it was, she passed on unobserved, until she met a servant, who politely inquired her business. The reply, in an agitated manner, was to the effect that she desired to speak with Lord ——. This was communicated to the Duke by the footman, who supposed that the lady must be out of her senses.

The Duke did not lose a moment in joining the strange lady, and pointed out, in the most gentle, kind and sensible manner, the breach of decorum of which she had been guilty, promised to communicate her wishes, and, soothing her perturbed spirit, convinced her

of the propriety of returning home, sleeping the matter over, and thinking calmly and dispassionately about it in the morning. By this solid and temperate advice, the affair passed over with scarce a comment, the carriage was called up, and the *artiste* drove off, a happier and probably a wiser woman than when she arrived. No one but a man conscious of the rectitude of his conduct and his moral purity could have risked such an interview, which, we consider, reflects considerable credit on his Grace.

The Duke, although he disliked all practical joking, heartily enjoyed any harmless fun. Upon one occasion, a very old friend of the family gave a very handsome donation to be expended at a Fancy Fair, and, by way of joke, the young gentleman, who was commissioned to bring home something that was useful as well as ornamental, purchased a small black doll. The horror of the gentleman who had subscribed so liberally was intense; but all the consolation he received was a large amount of what is vulgarly called "chaff," which he bore with tolerable equanimity, though he still felt that a sixpenny doll was a poor return for an outlay of three or four pounds.

The next morning, at breakfast, the gentleman appealed to the Duke, who said he was sure there was some mistake which could be easily rectified—for his Grace had, of course, requested that the joke should not be carried too far, and that some useful or artistic work should be given in exchange for the doll. While discussing the affair, the injured man helped himself to an egg, and while saying, "I'm sure, Duke, you won't

encourage any practical joke," broke the shell, and—revealed the identical black head of the doll!

The screams of laughter that followed were so tremendous, that it was next to impossible for the Duke not to join in the mirth. He, however, refrained from so doing with a mighty effort, and with great tact and good-humour took up a handsome embroidered pocket-book which had been brought from the bazaar, and said :

“Here, Charles, this is your property; it has been kept back through a harmless piece of fun.”

On another occasion, the same victim received a printed request, got up by some young friends, and requesting him to stand for some Scotch burgh. It was signed by the Provost and an influential body of burgesses, and had been worked off at a private printing press in the house. The victim took it to the Duke, for the purpose of consulting with him as to whether he should accept the flattering invitation. The Duke had his suspicions; so he good-humouredly advised him to turn the tables on the hoaxers, by writing a very humorous refusal, in which their names were happily introduced.

The Duke was a member of the Jockey Club, and was a steward of it in 1831, when the rules and orders of the Jockey Club were discussed. At a meeting on the 1st of Nov., 1831, some important changes were made, and the whole code revised. The sixty-eight clauses were carefully looked into—no light work—and the reformed rules bore the signatures of

{ S. BATSON.
LOWTHER—(the present Earl of Lonsdale).
RICHMOND.

A brief, and very brief, notice of the Duke's success on the turf may not be uninteresting. According to the official record in 1818, as Lord March, he had two horses, Roncesvalles and Gas, who only appeared at Goodwood races. In the following year, Roncesvalles was unfortunate enough to run second after four heats for the Brighton Town Plate, and fortunate enough to beat Mr. Ball's (the golden Ball) horse Leicester. In 1820, at Goodwood, in a match for fifty guineas, the above horse was beaten at Lewes, but won two sweepstakes at Goodwood.

From this year to 1823, the "yellow jacket" did little or nothing; but Dandizette having been added to the "string," his Grace may be said to have left "plating" for racing. In 1827, his mare Gulnare won the Oaks; and, in 1845, he was again fortunate in carrying off this prize with Refraction. Until 1854, the Duke continued to be an owner of race-horses: extreme bad luck had attended him during the previous year, when a lot of bad ones (William Rufus, Homebrewed, B. C., by Van Tromp, out of Reel, Dagobert, Harbinger, Pharos, a brown filly, by Touchstone, Antigone, and Rattle), were beaten four-and-twenty times at Goodwood and Brighton.

The untimely death of Lord George Bentinck, September 20, 1848, was a severe blow to the Duke of Richmond, who received a letter from his honoured friend by the same post that brought the melancholy account of his demise. For years they had been on the most intimate terms; their racing vocations first brought them together; and to Lord George's exertions

may be fairly attributed the great perfection to which Goodwood races have been brought. On the turf he was as great an enthusiast as he was in after life in politics, and, strange to say, his first struggle on the course above alluded to was against the Lennox family.

Being upon a visit to Mr. Poyntz at Cowdray, Lord George was called upon to ride a horse belonging to his host the following day ; and, as he never gave way to difficulties, he dispatched his servant to London for his riding gear, and employed one of the ladies' maids at Cowdray to make him a racing jacket in time for the next morning's contest. In the meantime, the rural hatter was ordered to procure him a cocked hat, the terms of the race being that each gentleman jockey should appear in that fantastic head-dress. The event has thus been recorded by a noble Lord who has contributed much to the sporting literature of the country :

“ We are here reminded of a wonderful close contest between the late lamented Lord George Bentinck on Mr. Poyntz's ch. m. Olive and Sir Maurice Berkeley* on Lord George Lennox's b. g. Swindon, which was one of the finest specimens of jockeyship on record, and which would have done credit to old Buckle and Sam Chifney in their most palmy days. The entry was

“ GOODWOOD, August, 1824.

“ THE COCKED HAT STAKES, &c., &c. Three quarters of a mile.

Mr. Poyntz's ch. m. Olive, aged (Lord G. Bentinck) 0 0 1

Lord G. Lennox's b. g. Swindon, aged

(Sir M. (then Capt. Frederick) Berkeley)* 0 0 2

Mr. Fleming's b. h. Blandford, aged . . . 3 0 0

Mr. J. Mills' b. g. Philip, aged . . . 4 0 0

Mr. Constable's bl. g. Brougham, 6 yrs. . . 5 0 0”

* The present Lord Fitzhardinge.

Fred Berkeley (as he was familiarly called) was a first-rate horseman, combining strength, nerve, and judgment; a wonderful rider to hounds, and equally good in the racing saddle; while the noble Lord had the reputation of possessing all the above qualities, and was considered as fine a judge of pace as his antagonist. The Goodwood party freely backed their favourite jockey, while the squire of Cowdray and his friends were equally sanguine as to the success of theirs. Upon cantering up the course, although both riders sat their horses well, the compact figure of the daring sailor contrasted favourably with the lengthened form of the gallant soldier; and the former was backed at odds to win. "Lord George is a fine fellow," exclaimed a clod, "but what will become of them long legs of his when he begins to work the mare?" "The Captain," said another, "is just the cut for a jockey; it will take a good 'un to beat he!" The trainers, with the exception of the one that had prepared Olive, were all for the Lennox colours, and—to adopt the phraseology of the ring—it was Chichester Cathedral to an extinguisher in favour of Swindon's rider, for the respective merits of the animals were unknown. Here again, however, was another instance of the knowing ones being taken in, for after two dead heats Lord George won triumphantly, and a good deal of money was exchanged."

Another interesting race took place at Goodwood in 1844, thus recorded:—

"Lord Maidstone's b. c. Larry M'Hale, by Slane, out of Rosary, 4 yrs. 12st. 5lb. (Owner), beat Lord G. Bentinck's b. c. Capt. Cook, 4 yrs. 11st. 12lb. (Owner). 500, h. ft. Cup Course.—A good race and

won by a neck. Run in 5 min. and a half. Very heavy betting at 5 to 4 on Capt. Cook."

Who that remembers Lord George Bentinck upon this occasion, when his whole thoughts were centered in the race, would recognise the same being as the leader of the Protection party, fighting gallantly and chivalrously for the cause of agriculture. But it is not as an honest, highly principled, supporter of the turf that Lord George's name will be handed down to posterity; it is as that of a patriot, whose memory is thus alluded to by his fellow-labourer in the field, Disraeli. "One who stood by his side in an arduous and unequal struggle; who often shared his counsels, and sometimes, perhaps, soothed his cares; who knew well the greatness of his nature, and esteemed his friendship among the chief of worldly blessings, has stepped aside from the strife and passion of public life to draw up this record of his deeds and thoughts, that those that come after us may form some conception of his character and career, and trace in these faithful, though imperfect, pages the portraiture of an English Worthy."

Many sneering remarks were levelled against Lord George Bentinck on account of his love of the turf, both in and out of Parliament; but these cavillers, especially the Whig party, forgot that their great leader Fox is thus described by a historian of his day:—"From the House of Commons to the Faro table, from the Faro table to Newmarket, and from Newmarket to the House of Commons, were still as much as ever to Fox direct and natural transitions."

To return to Lord George. Upon one occasion, when

canvassing at King's Lynn, in company with his colleague Lord William Lennox, at a moment when the former noble Lord had offended some of the extreme Radical party by voting for Lord Chandos's motion during the progress of the Reform Bill, he was shown into the lion's den of a somewhat gruff elector, who had only recently enjoyed his privilege as a voter. Lord George was all politeness; and presenting his electioneering card, asked him for the honour of his support.

The independent Liberal put on a smile, and in the pleasantest manner imaginable said—

“Good morning, my lord; has your lordship been at Newmarket lately?”

The candidate smiled.

“You're very fond of a race,” continued the other.

“Very,” responded the scion of the House of Portland.

“I wish to ask you a question, my lord,—a racing question.”

The noble turfite gave one of his most willing looks, and replied that he should be very happy to give all the information he could upon the subject.

“Now, my lord,” proceeded the inquirer, in a rather dry and solemn tone, “if a horse, however thoroughbred and good he may be in other respects, is given to swerving or bolting from the course, what should you think of him?”

“Perfectly useless—not worth training.”

“You've said it,” responded the other, with a demoniac laugh. “I quite agree with your lordship.

As Nathan said to David, 'thou art the man.' How came you not to run straight on the Reform Bill?"

To describe Lord George's look would be impossible; his brilliant eye sparkled with anger, his thoughtful brow was moist with perspiration, his handsome face became pallid as marble, his well-formed lips curled with scorn, his symmetrical frame shook with suppressed passion. Drawing himself up in a towering position, as if about to attack his assailant, he by a sudden effort conquered his rage, and bowing calmly but with dignity, said—

"I did not come here to be insulted."

So great was the effect produced by these few words, that the elector—who, although rough in his exterior, was warm at heart—regretted the offensive words he had uttered, wrote an apology, and became one of Lord George's steadiest supporters.

It is not within our purpose to write a history of the Goodwood meeting, else it would be possible to collect much interesting matter. The Goodwood week is, as it were *sui generis*; a great nobleman, sincerely taking to heart the true interests of the turf, and, anxious to offer a good example, did not hesitate to throw open his park to all comers, and any visitor to the course will have noticed the quietness pervading the whole scene. With magnificent scenery, first-rate racing, and good society to select from, a man would indeed be fastidious who did not consider the Goodwood course the perfection of all our race-grounds. The Derby is wonderful for the number of persons congregated on Epsom Downs; the Oaks is an attraction through the galaxy of beauty and

fashion ; Ascot Cup day continues to be a splendid sight, but not one of these, we may say from our experience, in any way equals the glory of a Goodwood Cup day. Everything combines on the Southdowns to enlivenment ; the seamy side of sporting life appears to be turned inwards, and the whole scene is fresh, invigorating, and cheerful. The ear is not offended by the coarse language employed on race courses nearer town, while the eye is refreshed by the sight of the merry farmers' daughters, in their smart dresses, and with their cheeks glowing with health.

To the late Duke, the remarkable success of the Goodwood meeting is in a great measure due ; he exerted his powerful influence to assemble the highest class of racing men, and the result more than justified his expectations. The amount of money run for has become something enormous, while the winner of the cup enjoys a reputation only second to that of the horse who proudly carries off the blue ribbon of the turf. Very praiseworthy, too, was the encouragement offered to foreign visitors ; and a glance at the list of winners will show that they have on several occasions won the rich prize, which no one has begrudged them. Even though, recently, the indulgence granted them in weight, &c., has been restricted, they have themselves to blame for it, for it was at length recognised as an anomaly to grant indulgence to horses bred from English sires and dams, that saw light in a foreign country.

Horse racing, there can be no doubt of the fact, is the most favourite sport of Englishmen, and it can never be put down, however much the Utilitarian school may

attempt it. Such being the case, we ought to feel grateful to the late Duke of Richmond for the persistent efforts he made to effect ameliorations, and the brilliant example he afforded in the Goodwood races. Long may they continue to flourish, is our most earnest wish, and as we do not think any apprehension need be felt on that score—for the entrances have been gradually and steadily increasing with each ensuing year, while the popularity of the meeting has attained a wonderful development—we feel assured that the present Duke will follow his father's example, and spare no exertions to maintain in their integrity the honour and glory of the Goodwood course.

And we believe that our great noblemen and lovers of the turf will yet succeed in removing that cancer of which many people have long complained. A controversy has recently been raised in a great paper with reference to the present state of the betting-ring—not before it was wanted, we allow; but we live in hope that the honest devotees of racing will, ere long, combine to draw up a racing and betting code, which will set all “Welchers” at defiance, and restore the turf to such a condition that gentlemen may tread it without fear and without reproach.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE DUKE AS AN AGRICULTURIST—THE SMITHFIELD CLUB—THE FIRST DINNER—THE DECLINE OF THE CLUB—THE DUKE OF BEDFORD—THE HIGHLAND SOCIETY—THE ROYAL AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY—EARL SPENCER—THE DUKE OF RICHMOND CHOSEN AS PRESIDENT—PRESENT STATE OF CATTLE-BREEDING.

THE Duke of Richmond, we need scarce remind our readers, took a deep interest in everything connected with cattle breeding; and though he principally confined his attention to his own splendid Southdown flocks, which he raised to an hitherto unprecedented condition, he was able fully to appreciate the progress made in other branches of cattle breeding. For several years the Duke occupied the chair at the annual dinner of the Smithfield Cattle Club, and his speeches were admirable for their plain common sense, and the practical suggestions they always contained. Owing to his close connection with that club, we feel bound to give some slight account of its origin and progress.

The national society, now known as the Smithfield Club, was instituted under the title of "The Smithfield Cattle and Sheep Society," on December 17th, 1798. Mr. J. Wilkes, of Measham, Derbyshire, the founder, and several other well-known agriculturists, assembled for its formation on that day, being the great Smithfield market-day before Christmas. The

late Francis Duke of Bedford occupied the chair, and was supported by the Earl of Winchelsea, Lord Somerville, Messrs. John Bennet, John Westcar, Richard Astley, John Ellman, Arthur Young, and twenty-one others. Later in the same week, eight more members, including Sir Joseph Banks, were added. Upon this occasion a committee was appointed, and it was decided to offer premiums for the best beast above a stated weight, and fed on grass, hay, turnips, or cabbages; also for the best beast fed on corn or oil-cake. For the best sheep fed on hay, grass, turnips, or cabbages; and for the best sheep fed on corn or cake.

The first show—in 1799—we find, from an admirable work by B. T. Brandreth Gibbs, Esq., trustee and honorary secretary to the club, in which he gives the history of the origin and progress of the Smithfield Club, was held at Wotton's livery stables (the Dolphin yard), Smithfield, the three days' admission money amounting to 40*l.* 3*s.*; and the first dinner of the subscribers took place at the Crown and Anchor tavern, on the Friday previous to the Christmas market. The following account is given of *some* of the animals:—

“The largest sheep were of the true old Gloucester breed; bred by Mr. Haines, and grazed by Mr. Poulton; 6 feet 5½ inches girth, 27 inches across the back, 22 inches over the shoulders, and stood only 26 inches high.

“A Hereford bullock, fed by Mr. Grace of Buckinghamshire; 7 feet high; weighed upwards of 260 stone; and measured in girth 12 feet 4 inches.

“Mr. Westcar's first-prize bullock, which sold for

100 guineas, was 8 feet 11 inches long, 6 feet 7 inches high, and 10 feet 4 inches round the girth."

Among the winners were Mr. Westcar, the Duke of Bedford, Mr. Edmonds, and Mr. John Ellman; the latter "for the best ox, fattened with grass and hay only, in the shortest time from the yoke."

Nothing particular seems to have occurred beyond the above proceedings until the year 1800, when the Duke of Bedford made a proposition for a new constitution of the society, and it was then determined to establish it as a permanent club, to consist of fifty members. In 1800, the pieces of plate offered as prizes were divided between vegetable-fed and cake-and-corn-fed cattle, under 100 and above 80 stone, also above 150 stone, and varied in value from 20 down to 10 guineas. The pieces of plate offered as prizes for sheep were for wethers fed the same as the cattle, and were of the value of 12 to 8 guineas. Early maturity in sheep was to be particularly considered.

The judges, who consisted of three graziers and an equal number of butchers, were instructed to "look to quality of meat, proportion of valuable meat, proportion of meat to offal, and time of feeding, and not to consider certificates satisfactory unless explicit as to the mode of feeding for some time back."

The proprietors of the yard, who had to furnish hay, straw, &c., received the money for the admission of the public, and paid the society 60 guineas.

Among the sheep shown were two horned five-year old, which had been two years fattening, twenty-two months of the time on cake and corn.

The cattle prizes were won by Herefords, Sussex, and long-horns.

The judges suggested "that the prizes for cake-and corn-fed sheep should be discontinued, and the money offered for two distinct breeds of sheep, viz., for clothing and carding-woolled sheep ; also, that no sheep should be shorn before showing."

At a meeting of the committee, December 30th, 1800, the Duke of Bedford first made the proposition of a new constitution of the society, and "that it be formed into a *permanent club*, to consist of fifty members, viz., the present committee, together with Mr. Wilkes, of Measham, the original proposer of the society, and thirty-four to be elected by ballot. Annual subscription one guinea."

A guinea was paid this year to each successful candidate's servant (nine in number).

Distinct prizes were proposed for oxen, and for cows and heifers, and it was considered "that if the cattle shown had not worked, their early ripeness was a merit equally as in sheep."

Two oxen were exhibited this year by his Majesty George III.

We have entered into a detail of the first year's meeting, with a view of contrasting it with one in 1857. In 1800, the value of the prizes was 120 guineas ; in 1857, 1050*l.*, with the addition of five gold and fifty silver medals. In 1800, the club received 63*l.* from the proprietors of the premises where the show was held ; in 1857, 700*l.* In 1800, the classes consisted of oxen or steers, and wether sheep, already noticed ; in 1857,

prizes for cattle were given for four different classes of Devon, Hereford, and short-horn ; two for Sussex, Norfolk or Suffolk, polled, long-horned, Scotch horned, Scotch polled, Irish breed and Welsh breed ; and three for cross or mixed breed. For sheep, there were two classes of long-wools, one long wools not Leicester ; two of cross breeds ; three of short-wools, one of short-wools not Southdown. For pigs there were four classes. We now return to the society and its proceedings. In 1802, Francis Duke of Bedford died, and was succeeded, as president, by the late John Duke of Bedford, and at that time the title of "The Smithfield Club" was permanently adopted, and the number of members extended to 100.

To prove the advantages we now possess over our ancestors, we need only mention that in 1805 a Devon ox was driven 126 miles to the show. In the following year his Royal Highness the Duke of York gained a prize for a pig. In 1813, the Duke of Bedford being about to proceed to the Continent, resigned the office of President, and applications were made to the Marquis of Tavistock and Mr. Coke (afterwards Lord Leicester) of Norfolk, to take the vacant chair, but they declined the proffered honour.

In consequence of the depressed state of agriculture after the termination of the war in 1815, the finances of the club became in so bad a state in the following year, that it was determined not to offer any prizes out of the funds of the club for 1817, the Bedfordian plate, and medals of the value of 125 guineas, being the only objects of competition left. Although the judges re-

ported favourably of the show, the noble president suggested "whether the ends for which the club was associated were not now sufficiently answered;" but in case the members should judge otherwise, he expressed his willingness to continue the Bedfordian premiums, which he had instituted in 1814. Sir John Sebright, however, moved a resolution, "That it is the opinion of this meeting that great advantages have accrued to the landed interest and the community in general, from the exertions of this club, which have tended materially to increase the supply of animal food of superior quality, to meet our greatly increased population and consumption.

"That the late exhibitions, and the present one in particular, show that the improvements in live stock are yet in successful progress as to the essential points of disposition to fatten, early maturity, and consequent cheapness of production, and that *further and greater* benefits may be rendered to the community by the continuance of these exertions: under these impressions it is the decided opinion of this meeting that the club should continue and receive the utmost support from its members."

For the succeeding three years the affairs of the society appear to have gone on satisfactorily, when, in December, 1821, the noble owner of Woburn addressed a letter to the club, stating his determination to withdraw from it, and discontinue the Bedfordian prizes. In his Grace's letter he expressed an opinion: "That the advantages which, on the first formation of the institution, we held out to the public have been amply realized, and that any further incentive to improve the breeds of cattle, sheep, and swine, is become wholly useless."

“The only object was to increase the animal production of the kingdom, and this object has been fully attained. The markets of the metropolis and throughout the kingdom are abundantly supplied ; the best and most profitable breeds of cattle and sheep have been brought into notice, and have made rapid and extraordinary progress in the estimation of the breeder and grazier.”

It was, however, unanimously resolved by the meeting of the members, after mature deliberation, “That the club ought to continue, and receive the utmost support of its members.”

From 1821 to 1825, even without a president—for Sir John Sebright had declined the honour—the society did not at all retrograde, and a lady, eminent for her amiability and beauty, the Duchess of Rutland, became a member. In 1825 that honest-hearted and thorough English gentleman Viscount Althorp (afterwards Earl Spencer) was elected president of the club, and at the annual show there was a sweepstakes between three Herefords belonging to the Duke of Bedford, and three Durhams the property of the Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, which was won by the former. From this period the society seems to have prospered, under the auspices of Lord Althorp, who, in 1831, received a candelabra of the value of two hundred guineas, in testimony of his valuable services in raising the club to its present eminence. In 1832, the Duke of Richmond, the subject of this memoir, was elected a vice-president, and from that hour to his last felt the deepest interest in the society. In 1834 his Grace won a match made with Lord Huntingfield for the five

best shearling Southdown wethers, and in 1830, 1837, 1847, 1851, 1853, 1854, 1856, carried off the gold medal for the best short-woolled sheep, Southdowns. In 1837 the Duke called the attention of the meeting to the importance of the dead weight returns, when the hon. secretary, Humphrey Brandreth Gibbs, Esq., offered his valuable services to be present at the weighing, an offer which was most gratefully accepted by the members.

Mention may here be made of the fact, that up to the year 1837 the Smithfield Club stood alone in England as a society promoting improvement in live stock. Since that period, however, several new societies have been formed for the promotion of agriculture, and at the present moment we possess :—The Highland Society and the Smithfield Club (1784); the Royal Agricultural Society of England (1838); the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland (1841); the London Central Farmers' Club. To these must be added the gradual extension of local farmers' clubs and country agricultural societies; the Board of Agriculture (incorporated), established by Sir John Sinclair, with Arthur Young for its secretary, in 1793. The latter gentleman also produced a valuable statistical treatise under the title of *Annals of Agriculture*, which he commenced in 1784, and continued up to 1808. In addition to the above the two great sheep-shearings at Holkham and Woburn, at which hundreds of the most eminent breeders in the kingdom were annually present, proved of the utmost service in stimulating the inclination of the nation towards agriculture.

In 1837 the Smithfield Club obtained a powerful auxiliary in the cattle-breeding department, by the

establishment of "The Royal Agricultural Society of England," a society which, as we shall shortly show, received the unremitting support of the subject of this memoir, and as the proposal for the formation of that society was first publicly made by the president of the Smithfield Club, at the annual dinner held at Freemasons' Hall, on December 11th, 1837, it may fairly and honestly be regarded as an offspring of the club. To bear this out we have only to quote the words of the present honorary secretary.

"Such various versions have been given of the origin and foundation of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, that I may here state, that the late Mr. Wm. Shaw (the Editor of the *Mark-Lane Express and Farmers' Magazine*)—who, on the formation of the society, became secretary, had an interview with the late Earl Spencer, the president of the club, and Mr. Humphrey Gibbs, the honorary secretary, in the club's parlour, in Goswell-street, on the 8th of December, 1837, and it was then determined that if the co-operation of the Duke of Richmond could be obtained, its formation should be publicly mooted at the dinner of the club on the 11th, as recorded above. In doing this, the late Earl Spencer, after having alluded to the objects of the club as not embracing agriculture generally, said, 'If a society were established for agricultural purposes exclusively, I hesitate not to assert, that it would be productive of the most essential benefits to the English farmer.' "

In 1840, the Prince Consort—that illustrious and enlightened patron of scientific and practical agriculture—paid his first visit to the Smithfield Club Show, and

expressed himself as highly gratified. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge became a member of the club, and in 1844 it received the distinguished honour of a visit from our beloved Queen and her Royal Consort. Her Majesty again honoured the show with her presence in 1850, and in 1854, when she was accompanied by Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and Prince Alfred.

In 1845, the society had to deplore the loss of its president, the late lamented Earl Spencer, than whom a more thorough example of a British worthy never existed. The following tribute of respect to his memory was unanimously paid by all the members :

“ We desire to record our lasting gratitude to the late Earl Spencer, for his long exertions in the service of the Smithfield Club, which were neither interrupted by the discharge of more arduous duties, nor damped by retirement from public life or advance of years ; and also to express our veneration for his noble and manly character.”

The committee and members then turned their attention to the selection of one of their body to fill the vacant post, and the choice fell unanimously upon the Duke of Richmond, one of the vice-presidents, who for many years had evinced his deep interest in the welfare of the club, not only by being a constant exhibitor at its shows, and bearing his successes with moderation, his defeats with good humour, but also by regularly attending its meetings, and giving the benefit of his advice at the deliberations.

His Grace was accordingly elected, and continued to

hold the office from the year 1845, down to the day of his death, during which period he devoted the greatest attention, the most unremitting zeal and energy, to the duties that devolved upon him. In 1850, two resolutions were passed—one delegating full power to the president to admit the Royal Family of this or other countries to the show at whatever time he might deem expedient. The second resolution expressed “the anxiety of the club to evince and perpetuate its feelings of respect toward the Duke of Richmond, by desiring that his Grace’s profile should appear on the reverse of the club medals; that his Grace be requested to sit to W. Wyon, Esq., R.A., of Her Majesty’s Mint, for the preparation of a die.”

During the fifteen years of the Duke’s tenure of the presidency, he saw many changes occur in cattle breeding; the old system of judging by size was given up, for it was found that smaller cattle were more profitable. The huge rawboned animals have been gradually converted into prize oxen, in which the meat-producing and bone-abolishing system has been carried, as it seems, to perfection. Every year supplies further information for the breeders as to the advisable changes to be introduced, and our cattle appear to have attained perfection.

Visitors to the cattle show are too much inclined to believe that the specimens they see in Baker-street, represent the general system of cattle breeding, or, in other words, that the oxen are the largest selected for competition from a number nearly of the same size and girth. This is not so: large as are the prices obtained

from butchers for prize cattle, the breeder is generally a loser by them ; for they create an immense amount of anxiety, and have to be as carefully tended as the most delicate race-horse. To the outer public, therefore, the cattle show is of no great educational value, but to the breeders and graziers it is inestimable, because, from the specimens displayed, they are enabled to distinguish cause and effect. The experiments made, prove what breed of cattle can be most easily fattened, and how it is possible to make nearly the whole of the animal remunerative by cross-breeding. The practical result of the cattle show is, that cattle are now fed at one-half the cost of olden times. The meat is better and more nutritious ; while the vast impulse it has given to breeding, keeps the staple article of our consumption at a reasonable price.

It is, however, the fashion to ridicule the Smithfield Club Show. Every coming December the same stock jokes are repeated about it, and certainly there is a justification for it with those who do not look below the surface. But the slightest consideration will show what a debt of gratitude the country at large owes to the workmen who devoted their time to this most important subject, and among the foremost rank we may fairly place the subject of our memoir.

Mr. Brandreth Gibbs supplies us with a very interesting statement as to the comparative winners among the different breeds of cattle, from which it will be seen that—

The Short-horns (oxen 10, cows 16) have won 26 Gold Medals.
 „ Herefords („ 9, „ 1) „ 10 „

The Devons (oxen) have won	3 Gold Medals.
„ Crossbreed (cows)	2 „

While among the general prizes—

The Hereford Oxen have won 185 prizes	£2758	2	0
„ „ Cows „ 22 „	231	0	0
<hr/>			
Total	£2989	2	0

The Short-horn Oxen have won 82 prizes	£1399	5	0
„ „ Cows „ 92 „	1132	15	0
<hr/>			
Total	£2532	0	0

In the long woolled sheep class, from 1831 to 1856 inclusive, we find that the old Leicester carried off eight gold medals, the new Leicester six, the Leicester eleven, and the improved Leicester one.

Before concluding this chapter we must not omit mentioning the patronage extended to the society by the late lamented Prince Consort, who was for many years a regular exhibitor, and carried off numerous prizes with animals fed at the “Royal Flemish” and “Royal Shaw” Farms. In 1861, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales made his first appearance as a competitor, and we trust that he will remain so for many years to come, and prove as successful as his father.

Any attempt to give a list of the other successful and unsuccessful exhibitors, would be to quote the name of almost every nobleman and gentleman connected with agriculture or breeding. Since the show was removed from Goswell Street to Baker Street, every year has

seen it increase in popularity, and it has been so thronged, and the number of animals has so increased, that it has been found necessary to remove it to more commodious premises at the Islington Cattle Market. Although by this change it may decline in its attractions for the general public, there is no doubt but that the removal will be of the utmost advantage to those more immediately interested.

The example of the "Smithfield Show" has met with imitation in France, and during the present year, a grand show is to take place to which English exhibitors are expressly invited. In return, a splendid agricultural and breeding display of all countries is offered at Battersea during the forthcoming Exhibition of all Nations, and from all we hear, it will not be the most uninteresting portion of the festivities of 1862.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DUKE'S MILITARY CHARACTER — A 52ND MAN — THE DUKE'S AFFABILITY — THE DUKE AS A POLITICIAN — HE IS NEARLY APPOINTED PREMIER — THE DUKE AT HOME — AGRICULTURAL DINNERS — THE DUKE'S LAST SPEECH IN THE HOUSE — ALARMING STATE OF HIS HEALTH — REMOVAL TO SCOTLAND — THE DUKE RETURNS TO LONDON — DANGEROUS PROSTRATION — DEATH OF THE DUKE — CONCLUSION.

WE have now followed the Duke, we fear in somewhat desultory fashion, from his birth to the time when he had numbered sixty-nine summers. During this lengthened period he had done much good to society by the example he had set, and although close on the attainment of man's allotted span of life, his powers were in nowise impaired; he enjoyed the happiness of age, that happiness so aptly described by a reverend author, that we feel no hesitation in quoting his remarks:—

“Age has its advantages. It gives maturity to the judgment, ripeness to the experience, vividness and strength to faith, consolidation to the character, and nearness and power to eternity and eternal realities. It clothes with a peculiar relish Christian hope, and encircles every thing connected with Christ and his kingdom with the radiant atmosphere of a holy satisfaction. The very compositions of age differ from those of youth. There is a solidity about them which seems

to say—life is retreating, we have much to do, and a limited season in which to accomplish it. They may lack many of the graces of earlier productions, and much of their fire; but they possess far more of the ringing metal of right thought and compact logic. Every word has weight, every sentence wisdom. Men learn as they advance in years, that life is not sustained by flowers, but nourished by fruit; and that barley-meal is better than blossoms. Age tames the imagination, and tones down the fancy, but gives insight to character, a knowledge of the world, and leads to perfect confidence alone in God.”

With such qualifications, and the sincere interest his Grace ever took in the profession of arms, it is much to be regretted that he retired from the service, for there were few men in the British Army who gave greater promise of attaining the highest honours and distinctions. He was passionately attached to his profession, energetic in performing his duties, and had proved himself belonging to the class well known to the British soldier under the name of the “Come on’s,” in contradistinction to the “Go on’s.” He attended to the comfort of his men, took the greatest pride in his corps, was popular with the officers, and beloved by the non-commissioned officers and privates.

Though no martinet, the Duke of Richmond unflinchingly kept up the discipline of his regiment, and as he was always an early riser, temperate in his habits, affable in his manner, and strictly impartial to all ranks, he set a high example to the whole regiment. It might appear like presumption to say that he would have made

a first-rate General, but if quickness in the field, courage under fire, coolness in action, and determination to conquer difficulties, be the ingredients for a good officer, we may affirm that his Grace, possessing these to the highest degree, might have proved himself, had the opportunity been offered him, worthy the school in which he was brought up, under Wellington.

The Duke never forgot an old comrade, whether officer or private; his park at Goodwood was always open to the regiments quartered at Chichester for field-days or cricket matches; orders were given to admit any one from the barracks of that city to the Tennis Court, and the officers were regularly and in turn invited to dinner. To prove the feeling which his Grace ever evinced toward the soldiers of the Army, we can, among other instances, quote one that came under our own immediate observation.

There was an old 52nd man who had been in every action through the Peninsular war, and retired from the service on a decent pension. Through the Duke's influence a situation was secured for him as porter to one of the public institutions at Portsmouth, where the veteran lived and died. Upon every occasion that called the Duke to Portsmouth, his first visit was to the pensioner, and we shall not easily forget the scene that occurred when we accompanied his Grace to the small lodge in which the object of his solicitude lived.

The weather was intensely hot, there were but scanty means of ventilation, and the furniture consisted of a table, two chairs, a coalscuttle, and a shut-up bedstead. There was one article, however, which the invalid appeared

to prize as his life, and that was a small piece of red and blue ribbon, from which was suspended a medal with ten clasps, as a record of the actions in which the gallant fellow had been engaged. It hung over the mantel-piece, under a rude likeness of Wellington on a white horse, with flowing mane and tail; the hero wore a plumed cocked hat, blue frock coat, Hessian boots, and held a Marshal's baton in his hand.

"Well, how are you to-day?" the Duke inquired, when we had entered the small room. "Your hand is nice and cool, so I hope you have had no return of ague."

"Thank you, your Grace; pray be seated, and your friend. I am much better; not here" (touching his emaciated limbs), "but here"—(laying his hand on his heart); "those medals have done me more good than all the doctor's stuff. I look at them and they bring back old times when you, Captain—I beg your pardon, your Grace—joined us; you were a ruddy little boy then: oh dear!"

Here the veteran became so overcome by his feelings that he burst into a flood of tears. When he recovered, his visitor referred to the subject nearest his heart. He talked of the gallant Oxfordshire Light Infantry, of their prowess in Spain, Portugal, France, and Belgium; he dwelt on the glorious deeds of every one connected with the old corps, from the most humble rank and file to the Commanding Officer. Then he turned the conversation upon the light division, the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, reminding his attentive listener of the repeated thanks they had received for their gallant deeds from the lips of Wellington. At parting, the Duke shook his old

comrade warmly by the hand, and retired, followed by the blessings of the worn-out veteran.

The Duke never held office under any Government, with the exception of his short tenure as Postmaster-General, to which we have already referred, although at one time he was within an ace of obtaining the Premiership. Although his oratorical powers were inferior to those of the great party leaders of his time, he was second to none of them in patriotism, disinterestedness, sterling sense, and sound argument. He wrote without affectation or effort, his public letters being manly and to the point, while his private correspondence was animated and clear.

The occasion on which the Duke so nearly attained the proud distinction of the Premiership was during that memorable period when Earl Grey, determined to carry the Reform question in the House of Lords, urged upon his Majesty the expediency of creating a batch of new Peers, and an attempt was made to induce the Duke of Richmond to form an Administration. Whether such a wish emanated from the highest personage of the realm, we are not in a position to affirm, but we may say, in confirmation, that the King's eldest daughter, Lady Sidney, exerted her best efforts to forward the design.

When party feeling was in the highest state of excitement, when the House of Lords was being coerced into passing a measure of which the majority disapproved, under the threat of having the number of Whig Peers increased, when confusion and discontent prevailed throughout the land, the above-named lady drove in the middle of the night to the door of a near

relative of his Grace, a connexion by marriage of the late Sir Robert Peel. The lady pointed out the state his Majesty was in, and his fear that he should be compelled to abdicate the throne and retire to the Continent, and that nothing could extricate him from the dangers that beset his path on every side, except the support of the Duke of Richmond, and those politically connected with him. However, before the Duke could be made acquainted with this semi-official communication, the difficulties had in some degree been removed, and his Grace was spared the heavy responsibilities attaching to office, and which would have proved almost insupportable to him, during the excitement which at that period prevailed in every class of society. Horace Twiss, in his "Life of Lord Eldon," thus refers to the circumstance :—

"The House of Lords, re-assembling on the 7th of May (1832), proceeded, the same afternoon, to commit the Reform Bill. In Committee, the Ministers were defeated on a motion, made by Lord Lyndhurst, to postpone the disfranchising to the enfranchising portion of the bill; and thereupon, under all the circumstances of the case, they judged it expedient to acquaint his Majesty, that, unless he would announce a resolution to create such a body of new Peers as would carry the measure in the form which its authors deemed essential, they must request him to accept their resignations. The King at first resisted; but after some days had been unsuccessfully occupied by him in an endeavour to form a new government, he found himself under the necessity of re-establishing Lord Grey's Ministry on their own terms. It was now intimated to the leading

opponents of the bill in the House of Lords, that the proposed creation of Peers could be prevented only by the forbearance of a sufficient number of them from any further opposition to the measure before the House. The Duke of Newcastle, on the 21st of May, gave notice of a motion respecting the fitness of such an exercise of the prerogative; and a conversation arose, in the course of which Lord Eldon argued that though the existence of the prerogative could not be questioned, it was open to the House to question the fitness of its exercise on any particular occasion; and protested against the application of it for the purpose now threatened, as being at once injurious to the people and perilous to the Crown.

“There remained, however, but a choice of evils. Lord Eldon and the anti-Reformers in general resolved therefore to abstain from further resistance, and the bill went rapidly through Committee. On the 4th of June it was read a third time, after a division, in which 106 supporters of it recorded their votes against only 22 of its opponents. The remainder of those adverse to it persevered in the quieter policy of absenting themselves; and so saved the peerage, with what else was left of the Constitution.”

Notwithstanding the above gloomy foreboding, the Constitution of this country remains still unimpaired, and the Members of the reformed House of Commons have seldom, if ever, swerved from their duty as representatives of the people.

The Duke was never so happy as when the month of August arrived, and he was enabled to leave the duties

of the House of Lords, the sultry atmosphere of London, the stifling air of committee-rooms, for the invigorating breezes of the Highlands. It was his delight to ride over his property, attend to the farm, inspect the garden, have a day's shooting among the fragrant heather, or stalk a deer on the rugged hills of Glen Fiddick. Here, at Gordon Castle, surrounded by relations and friends, he kept open house, extending his hospitality to all who came within the range of his acquaintanceship, from the prince of the blood to the humblest of his late comrades in arms.

For many years the Duke attended the Northern meeting at Inverness, and appeared to feel a pride in the athletic games of the stalwart clansmen, and he ever liberally encouraged them. So unaffected was the Duke in his manner, so simple-minded and unostentatious, that on more than one occasion, at public agricultural dinners held in other countries than those in which his property was situated, he selected a seat at the lower table among the tenant farmers, where, while remaining unknown, he delighted them by the affability of his conversation, and the aptitude of his remarks on affairs in general.

Great was the surprise at a celebrated meeting in the North of England, where he had selected a private station as his post of honour, in spite of the solicitations of the chairman, when he was called upon to respond to a toast. Those in his immediate vicinity, and who had familiarly conversed with him as one of themselves, were not a little surprised when the toast master announced to them that their unassuming companion,

who was not decorated with star, ribbon, or medal, was their honoured champion and friend the Duke of Richmond.

The last time the Duke addressed the House was on the 1st of August, 1859, when the report of amendments on the Divorce Court Bill was considered. Lord Redesdale moved an amendment in clause 5, which enabled the Court to sit with closed doors where it should appear to the Court desirable to do so, in regard of public decency. The Duke supported the amendment, reminding the House that in criminal courts there was no secrecy, and in cases of criminal assaults the girl or woman who complained had to give her evidence in public, and he thought properly, because it was in such cases that publicity and searching investigation were most required. He would support the amendment, because it would tend to diminish the evil which the clause would create.

For some years, the Duke had been subject to constant attacks of gout, influenza, and other evils to which human nature is heir, and which in time produced a most injurious effect upon a constitution not very robust in itself, and which had suffered greatly from privations endured during the lengthened campaign in Spain, Portugal, and France, and the severe wound his Grace received at Orthez. Still, there was nothing to cause any serious alarm to his family, relatives and friends, especially as the air of the Sussex downs, and the invigorating breezes of the Scottish mountains, usually produced a favourable effect upon the sufferer's health.

We now approach the most mournful part of our duty, the death of the subject of this memoir. In 1860, the Duke left London for Goodwood, a few days prior to the annual gathering for the races. A large party assembled there on July 23rd, to enjoy his unbounded hospitality. Upon their arrival, they received the unpleasant tidings that their host was not well enough to greet them, but every hope was entertained that he would join the circle before the week was over.

So far was this expectation realised, that the Duke was wheeled in his garden chair to the lawn in front of the conservatory, and joined the party on their return from the course. From Goodwood the Duke proceeded to London and Gordon Castle, when the Highland air produced so favourable an effect that the anxiety of his family and friends was considerably diminished. Ere long, however, a change for the worse took place, and Sir James Clarke, who had been called in, recommended an immediate removal to London.

By easy stages the Duke, who was in a state of extreme debility, reached his town house in Portland Place, where, under the care of Sir James Clarke, and Dr. Hair, his faithful friend and medical attendant, all that human aid could afford was administered. After his return to town the Duke improved in all his symptoms, except his breathing, when about the 13th of October he was attacked by a fit of the gout, which sadly reduced his strength. He, however, rallied a little, until six o'clock on the morning of the 19th, when he awoke in so weak a state that his end was hourly expected. He then rallied, and was better during the

day and night. At six o'clock on the following morning the same thing occurred—the Duke awoke in an alarming state of weakness, grew better about nine o'clock, and remained tolerably well during the day. On Sunday the 21st, after passing a very bad night, so bad indeed that his eldest son was summoned at three o'clock, A.M., as his father's death was momentarily expected—he rallied for the last time at about nine o'clock, and at a quarter before two breathed his last.

Thus died the Duke of Richmond, a nobleman whose name will be long endeared to his countrymen as a brave soldier, a disinterested statesman, and a zealous supporter of the agricultural interest. In private life he was kind-hearted, benevolent, and affable; condescending to those in a lower station of life, he won their hearts by an innate and unstudied courtesy; while his high spirit, undaunted courage and nobleness of character, combined with the utmost simplicity of mind, rendered him universally beloved by those who came within the circle of his acquaintance. To the Duke of Richmond we may fairly apply the judgment contained in the sentence that “the actions of the just smell sweet and blossom in the dust.”

APPENDIX.

A.

THE origin of the English ducal family of Richmond must be so familiar to our readers, that we have not considered it necessary to allude to it. As, however, the antiquity of the Scotch title is not so well known, and as it is extremely interesting, we do not hesitate to supply the following information from Playfair's "British Family Antiquity."

As an English peer, it is sufficient to trace the present Duke of Lennox and Richmond to Charles II., but not so as a Scotch title, which, as being one of the most ancient as well as one of the greatest families in Scotland, ought to be traced like other families not extinct; for though in the direct male line the race failed on the death of Esme, the last duke of the family of Lennox, yet Charles II., as lineally descended from Lord Darnley, father of James I. of England, renewed the title in his son; that son and his descendants are now representatives of the Ancient House.

After the Norman Conquest, a number of great barons finding resistance impracticable, and disdaining submission, sought refuge in Scotland, where they were kindly received by King Malcolm III. The most eminent of these families was the ancestor of the Dunbars, Earls of March. The next was the progenitor of the old Earls of Lennox. The first of whom we can fix upon with any certainty is Aykfrith, or Egrith, an English Saxon lord, who was possessed of a great estate in Northumberland, which, with Cumberland and Westmoreland, belonged to the Scotch for several generations. He had also the lordships of Dent and Sedbergh in Yorkshire, and was contemporary with the Kings Canute and Edward the Confessor. He made a great addition to his paternal estate by the marriage of Eckfrida, a rich Yorkshire heiress, with

whom he got vast possessions. He died about 1064, and left issue a son, Arkyll, or Arkilla, who succeeded him, and had also a great estate in Northumberland. He was one of the most powerful men in that country. He married Sigrida, daughter of a powerful baron in Yorkshire, and by her had a son, Cospatrick, whose grandson Arkyll, being a great supporter of the old Saxon race, sustained a principal share in all the insurrections against William the Conqueror; and being obliged to leave England, he fled to Scotland, to King Malcolm Canmore, who having married Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling, the true and lineal heir of the English crown, received all the Saxon earls with open arms, giving them estates in Scotland, and other rewards suitable to their birth, merit, and the losses they had sustained in England on account of their loyalty. Arkyll obtained from that king a large tract of land in the shires of Dumbarton and Stirling, which was afterwards erected into the Earldom of Lennox, in favour of Alwin Mac Arkyll, his grandson; from this Arkyll his descendants, the old Earls of Lennox, are denominated by the Gaelic bards, the posterity of Arkyll. It is said he married a Scotch lady for his second wife, by whom he had a son of his own name, who succeeded him in his estate in Scotland.

Arkyll, second of that name, does not appear to have survived his father long; and we have little of him on record, only that he was the father of Alwin, whom we find mentioned in our records in the beginning of the reign of King David I., who succeeded to the crown of Scotland. He is witness to a charter of confirmation by that monarch to the abbey of Dunfermline, together with Constantine, Earl of Fife, who died 1127; he appears to have been much about the court of this King David, being witness to most of that prince's charters and donations to the religious, which were very numerous. He was possessed of a large estate, and being also in great favour with King Malcolm, was by that prince raised to the dignity of Earl of Lennox, in the beginning of his reign. He left issue two sons. The Earl was succeeded in his whole estates and dignities in Scotland by his eldest son.

Alwin, second Earl of Lennox, being very young at his father's death, King William (who succeeded Malcolm) gave the wardship during Earl Alwin's minority to his own brother David, Earl of Huntingdon, as appears from an inquisition taken by the abbot of Paisley, in 1233. He married Eva, daughter of Gilchrist,

Earl of Monteith, by whom he had eight sons and one daughter. Earl Alwin died about the year 1234, and was succeeded by his eldest son Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, who confirmed all the donations made by his predecessors to the Church of Kilpatrick, which he afterwards gave, with all its lands and privileges, to the abbacy of Paisley and others. When the differences of King Alexander II. of Scotland and Henry III. of England were accommodated, Maldwin, Earl of Lennox, was one of the guarantees on the part of Alexander in 1237. Understanding that King Alexander II. had a great inclination to acquire possession of the Castle of Dumbarton, a place very strong both by nature and art, and then the principal mansion of the Earls of Lennox, together with a large extent of territory, with a harbour and fishing contiguous thereto, he immediately made a surrender of the whole earldom into the king's hands, and thereupon obtained a new charter, dated in 1238, in which neither the castle nor that territory were contained. The castle has ever since continued to be a royal fort; and the town of Dumbarton was immediately founded by the king on the territory of Morach. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Walter, son of Alan, Hereditary Lord High Steward of Scotland, ancestor of the royal family of Stewart, by Beatrix, his wife, daughter of Gilchrist, Earl of Angus; by her he had a son and daughter. He died soon after, in the beginning of the reign of King Alexander II.

Malcolm, Lord of Lennox, only son and heir apparent of Earl Maldwin, is mentioned in many writs in the chartularies of Lennox and Paisley, but he never came to be earl, as he died before his father, in 1248, leaving issue a son.

Malcolm, second of that name, who succeeded his grandfather Earl Maldwin, was fourth Earl of Lennox. King Alexander III. erected a large tract of land of the Earldom of Lennox into a free forrestry, with great privileges and emoluments in favour of this earl, dated at Kniton, 6th of July, 1272. He confirmed all donations made by his predecessors to the religious at Paisley in 1273. He was a man of great merit, and a true lover of his country, and was one of those Scotch nobles who bound themselves to stand by and support the title of the Princess Margaret, daughter of the King of Norway, to the crown of Scotland, in failure of male issue of King Alexander III.'s body in 1284. After King Alexander's death, he was one of those who agreed to the mar-

riage of the King of Norway's daughter (the Queen Margaret) with Edward, Prince of England, in 1290. He died betwixt the years 1290 and 1292, leaving issue only one son.

Malcolm, third of that name, who succeeded him in 1292, and was fifth Earl of Lennox, was chosen one of the arbiters on the part of Robert Bruce, in his competition for the crown with John Baliol; yet he, with many others of the Scotch nobility, were forced to submit and acknowledge the superior power of King Edward I. of England when he had overrun Scotland. He was a worthy patriot, and firmly attached to the interest, liberty, and independence of his country: for which he fought all his life, and was at last slain in its defence. In the year 1297, in conjunction with the Earls of Buchan, Monteith, Strathearn, Ross, Athol, and Mar, at the head of a Scottish army, he invaded and laid waste all the north of England. When Robert, Earl of Carrick, afterwards the valiant and victorious King Robert Bruce, began to assert his right to the crown of Scotland, Lennox was the first of the nobility that joined him, and was present with him in most of his battles and distresses, and, during his life, adhered firmly to the best of sovereigns in the worst of times. He obtained from that prince many charters under the great seal of different lands, lordships, and baronies, and got from him the Hereditary Sheriffship of the County of Clackmannan in 1310. The king also confirmed to him the sheriffship and the lord-lieutenancy of the earldom of Lennox, which had been long enjoyed by his predecessors. He was one of the Scotch nobles who signed the famous letter to the Pope, asserting the independency of Scotland. King Edward III. of England having besieged the town of Berwick; Archibald, Lord of Douglas, then governor of Scotland, in order to raise the siege, gathered together a numerous army, and was joined, among others, by Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, with all his friends and followers. The two armies came to an engagement at a place called Halidon Hill, near Berwick; the Scots were utterly overthrown, and lost a great number of brave men, who all died fighting valiantly in defence of their country, amongst whom were the governor himself, the Earls of Lennox, Strathearn, Sutherland, Carrick, &c. This battle was fought in 1333.

Donald, sixth Earl of Lennox, succeeded his father in 1333, and was one of the Earls and great men of Scotland who granted commission to several plenipotentiaries to treat with the English

about the redemption of King David II. in 1357. He was also one of those who, in a parliament held at Scoon, 1371, acknowledged that John, Earl of Carrick (afterwards King Robert III.), was eldest lawful son of, and undoubted heir and successor to, King Robert II. To this famous deed Earl Donald's seal was appended; though now, by the injury of time, it is lost, yet the tag to which it was fixed still remains, with his name on it. In the year 1372, King Robert II. gave to his son Alexander, Lord Badenoch, afterwards Earl of Buchan, the composition money due to the King out of the estate of Lennox, at the entry of the next heir, to which he succeeded upon the Earl's death, in 1373. Earl Donald left issue only one daughter, Margaret, his sole heiress; and dying without issue male, in him ended the male line of Maldwin, eldest son of Alwin, second Earl of Lennox; the representative, therefore, became Malcolm MacFarlane, of Arrochar, the next heir-male being grandson's grandson of Gilchrist, fourth son of the said second Earl, of whom this Walter MacFarlane was the lineal representative, and the only branch of that illustrious and once flourishing family now subsisting in a direct male line.

Sir Duncan Lennox, Knight, grandson of Donald, the sixth Earl, and heir of line of the family, having the prospect of a great estate, and Malcolm MacFarlane, the undoubted heir-male of the old Earls, declining to accept a dignity which he thought he had not estate sufficient to support, King Robert II., out of a grateful remembrance of the many and estimate services performed to the Kings, his predecessors, by the family of Lennox, conferred upon the said Sir Duncan and his heirs the dignity of the Earl of Lennox, after it had laid dormant for the space of eight or ten years, ever since the death of Earl Donald in 1373. There are a great many charters still extant relating to Duncan, Earl of Lennox. He had three daughters. Some time after King James I. returned from England, Duncan, Earl of Lennox, was arrested at the King's instance; was incarcerated in the castle of Edinburgh, and from thence carried to the castle of Stirling, where he was accused, not of treason, but of high crimes and misdemeanors, of which, by the verdict of an assize, he was found guilty, and condemned to lose his head, which sentence was executed at Stirling, in May, 1425, when he was about eighty years of age; but his estate was not forfeited, as will afterwards appear. He, with his son-in-law Murdoch, Duke of Albany; and

his two grandsons, Walter and Alexander Stewart, all suffered at the same time. Earl Duncan's three daughters and their posterity succeeded according to the destination in the entail; viz., Robert, who died before, unmarried; Sir Walter and Sir Alexander, who both suffered with their father; Sir James, who, upon his father's, grandfather's, and brothers' imprisonment, broke out into open rebellion, burnt the town of Dumbarton; and, among others, killed Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, governor of the castle there, for which he was outlawed, and immediately obliged to fly to Ireland, where he died without lawful issue in 1451. He had several natural sons, who afterwards came over to Scotland, and were preferred to great honours, three whereof were legitimated by King James III. in 1479.

After the entail, in 1392, before narrated, all the vassals of the earldom of Lennox thought it necessary to have the charters granted by Earl Duncan confirmed to them by his eldest daughter, and undoubted heiress, Isabella. Of this we have many instances on record, particularly a charter granted to William, Lord Graham, ancestor to the Duke of Montrose, in 1423, of the lands of Errachy, Gartcarron, Strathblane, Balgrochyr, and many others. After her father's death, and the melancholy catastrophe of her family, which she long survived, and bore with great equanimity, firmness, and resolution, she still continued to possess the earldom of Lennox, and to grant charters to the vassals. She founded a sumptuous collegiate church at Dumbarton for a provost and several prebends, dedicated to the apostle St. Patrick of Ireland, who was born in Lennox, to which she mortified some lands in Strathblane; as also three churches in Lennox, viz., Fintray, Strathblane, and Bonhill. In one charter, in which her own and her sister Margaret's seals are appended, she is expressly designed Duchess of Albany and Countess of Lennox; it is dated 18th day of May, in the year 1451; she died about the end of that year, or beginning of 1452, when the earldom of Lennox fell into the King's hands, as the next heirs did not for some time lay claim to the title.

Elizabeth, second daughter of Duncan, Earl of Lennox, was married to Sir John Stewart of Darnley. Their eldest son, Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley, and Earl of Lennox, obliges himself, in his son John's contract of marriage with Margaret, daughter of Alexander, Lord Montgomery, to infeoff her in a forty merk land

of the lands of Dreghorn and Darnley ; and, in case the said Alan happen to recover the estate of Lennox, to infeoft her in as much as will make up her jointure to a hunder-merk land, of old extent, dated 15th May, 1438. This John, on 16th December, 1460, took instruments, upon his requiring Andrew, Lord Evandale, Chancellor of Scotland, to grant him brieves, fourth of the chancellary, directed to the Sheriffs of Stirling and Dumbarton, for serving him, one of the heirs portioners of the deceased Earl of Lennox, father of Elizabeth, of Lennox, grandmother to the same John, in all the lands in which the Earl died last seised and infeoft, and is afterwards actually served and turned heir to him in the half of the lands of the said earldom, and the principal mesuage of the same, on 23rd July, 1473 ; and of this John, the earls and dukes of Lennox are descended.

Margaret, third daughter of Earl Duncan (though by some authors said to be second), was married to Robert Montaith of Busky, who infeofts her in some of his lands, 25th July, 1392 ; by her he had a son.

The marriage of Elizabeth, second daughter of Duncan, last Earl of Lennox, with Sir John Stewart of Darnley, afterwards brought the title of Lennox to the family of Stewart, nearly allied to the Kings of Scotland, and lineally descended from the first of the Stewart family.

This Sir John, when very young, was one of the hostages for the ransom of King David, and afterwards distinguished himself greatly in the wars in France with the Earls of Douglas and Buchan, when Charles VII. created him Baron D'Aubigny, Count Devreux, and Constable and commander of the Scotch army, in the absence of Buchan. He was also a Marichal of France. He at last lost his life at the siege of Orleans, at a great age, in 1429, when he was succeeded by his eldest son.

Sir Allen Stewart of Darnley, who was killed in 1439 by Sir Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, when he was succeeded by his eldest son John, Lord Darnley, who served himself heir to his great-grandfather, Duncan, Earl of Lennox, in 1463, but did not obtain a charter from the King for the title of Earl of Lennox till he had amicably settled matters with Lady Gleneagles, descended from Earl Duncan's youngest daughter ; then, with the consent of the Crown, he assumed the title of Earl of Lennox, and got charters under the great seal, Johanni, Comite de Lenox, of the

lands of Darnley, Inchinian, Bathgate, and others, in 1470 and 1474. This Earl was a loyal and faithful subject to King James III.; he was appointed one of the commissioners to treat with the English in 1472; and was appointed Warden of the Marches in 1481; and was again appointed one of the Ambassadors Extraordinary to treat with the English about a peace in 1484. When the civil war broke out, he joined the King against the rebels and the young Prince, and was made Captain of Dumbarton Castle, 1488. He married Margaret, daughter of Alexander, second Lord Montgomery, by whom he had five sons and four daughters. He died, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Matthew, second Earl of Lennox of the name of Stewart. He was a man of great abilities, and, in his father's lifetime, was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of England, when he was only Master of Lennox, in 1488. He married Lady Elizabeth Hamilton, daughter of James, Earl of Arran, by Princess Mary Stewart, his wife, daughter of King James II., by whom he had two sons and three daughters.

This Earl was of the privy-council to King James IV., with whom he was in great favour. He attended him to the fatal field of Flodden, and there lost his life, in 1513.

John, third Earl of Lennox, who was one of the Scotch nobles that joined in refusing to the King of England to remove the Duke of Albany from the guardianship of the young King, in 1516. He was appointed one of the Lords of the Regency by King James V., in 1524. He was one of the Scotch nobility that ratified a treaty with the English, in 1526. He married Lady Anne Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Athol, by whom he had three sons and one daughter.

The Earl of Lennox, endeavouring to rescue the King out of the Earl of Angus's hands, who, it is said, kept him little better than a prisoner, was killed in the attempt, near Linlithgow Bridge, by his cousin, Sir James Hamilton, son of the Earl of Arran, after he had been made prisoner by Pardowie, in 1526. He was succeeded by his eldest son Matthew, fourth Earl of Lennox, who betook himself to a military life, and served in the wars of France with great reputation.

After the death of King James V., he returned to Scotland, and set several projects on foot, which were thought inconsistent with the honour and dignity of the nation; but being disappointed

in his expectations, he retired to England, was outlawed, and forfeited. He was kindly received by Henry VIII., who bestowed upon him in marriage his niece, Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Angus, by the Queen of Scotland, King Henry's sister, and giving him with her an estate in England. The Earl entered into a contract or treaty with King Henry, whereby he bound himself to deliver up to the King of England his territory of Dumbarton, the Isle of Bute, the castle of Rothsay, with several other lands and lordships in Scotland, in 1545, but it was never performed. He continued in England till he was recalled by Queen Mary, in 1563, and his forfeiture was then repealed by Act of Parliament. His son Henry, Lord Darnley, came to Scotland soon after him; was married to Queen Mary, and declared King of Scotland. He was afterwards most barbarously murdered, and the Earl of Lennox prosecuted those suspected to have been concerned in it, particularly the Earl of Bothwell, who was tried by his peers, but was then acquitted. After the death of the Regent Murray, the Earl of Lennox was appointed Regent of Scotland, but was killed at Stirling, in 1571. By the said Lady Margaret Douglas he had issue several children, but they all died young, except Henry, Lord Darnley, who married Queen Mary, as before observed, and was father of King James IV. and Charles.

This Charles succeeded his father, and was fifth Earl of Lennox. He married Elizabeth Cavendish, sister of William, first Earl of Devonshire, by whom he had only one daughter, Lady Arabella Stewart, who died without issue. The Earl dying also without other children, in 1576, the representation devolved upon his uncle Robert.

Robert, second son of John, third Earl of Lennox, being born a younger brother, was bred to the church, and was Bishop of Caithness. Upon the death of his nephew Charles, he succeeded to the Earldom of Lennox, and was the sixth Earl; but having no children made a resignation of the Earldom of Lennox in the King's hands, in favour of his nephew Esme Stewart, Lord D'Aubigny; on which account he was created Earl of March. He turned Protestant, and married Lady Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of John, Earl of Athol; but, dying without issue, the estate and honours of Lennox devolved upon his nephew Esme, son of his brother John, who was captain of the Scotch *gens d'armes*, in

France, and governor of Avignon, in the reign of King Francis II. He was father of Esme, Lord D'Aubigny, upon whom the earldom of Lennox devolved. Esme had his education in France; came over to Scotland, in 1579, and was most kindly received by his Majesty, who immediately gave him a grant of the lordship of Arbroath, then in the crown by the forfeiture of Lord John Hamilton. He created, or rather confirmed, the earldom of Lennox to him, and the heirs male of his body, lineally; which failing, to return to the crown. He then appointed him governor of the castle of Dumbarton, captain of the guards, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, great chamberlain of Scotland, and Duke of Lennox, in 1581. This sudden rise in power and honours procured him envy, though he was a man of mild and sweet disposition, and a lover of peace; but it being alleged that he was too much attached to the Roman Catholic religion, he was strangely persecuted by the reformers. The King, who was convinced he was not so, continued his firm friend, and was like to be brought to trouble upon his account; he, therefore, much against his Majesty's inclination, retired to France, and died soon, in May, 1583, a staunch Protestant. He married Catherine de Balsack, daughter of William, Seigneur d'Antrague, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Ludovick, second Duke of Lennox, whom the King immediately brought from France, took great care of his education, and confirmed to him all the estates and honours which belonged to his father, and appointed him heritable admiral and lord high chamberlain of Scotland. He assisted at the Queen's coronation in 1590. He was sent ambassador to France to renew the old friendship between the two crowns, in 1601, and when the King went up to England, in 1603, he was made Earl of Newcastle, Duke of Richmond, master of the household, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and knight of the most noble order of the Garter. He was appointed his Majesty's commissioner to the parliament of Scotland. He died without issue.

Esme, Lord D'Aubigny, his brother, succeeded him as third Duke of Lennox, lord high admiral and great chamberlain of Scotland. He had been created Earl of March in England, on the 17th of June, 1620, by patent to his heirs whatever, which honours were enjoyed by his female descendants. He married Catherine, daughter and heiress of Gervaise, Lord Clifton of Broomswolds, by whom he got a great estate in England, and by her he had

issue seven sons and three daughters. The Duke died in 1625, and was succeeded by his eldest son James, fourth Duke of Lennox, who, while he was abroad for his education, was made a grandee of Spain; when he returned home, he was made a privy councillor, and had all the heritable offices belonging to his family conferred to him, was made warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the household, and knight of the Garter. He was a firm, steady friend of the royal family. A noble author says: "He was very worthy of all the favour the King had showed him, for, throughout the whole course of the civil war, he was immoveable in his loyalty, and lent the King at one time 20,000*l.* sterling. He married Lady Mary Villiers, daughter of George, Duke of Buckingham, by whom he had a son and a daughter. He had the honour to pay his last duty to his royal master, King Charles I., by putting him in his grave at Windsor. He never had health or spirits afterwards, but died in 1655, and was succeeded by his son Esme, fifth Duke of Lennox, who dying without issue, in 1666, his estate and honours devolved upon his cousin, and heir male, Charles, son of his uncle George, Lord D'Aubigny, fourth son of Esme, third Duke of Lennox, a great loyalist, who lost his life in the King's service, at the battle of Keynton, in October, 1642, having married Lady Catherine Howard, daughter of Theophilus, Earl of Suffolk, by whom he had a son and a daughter—

Catherine, married to Henry Lord O'Bryen, son and heir of the Earl of Thomond, in the kingdom of Ireland, by whom he had a daughter, married to Edward, Earl of Clarendon.

Charles, the son, when very young, was created Lord Stewart of Newbury and Earl of Lichfield by King Charles I., in 1645; and, succeeding to the honours of Lennox in 1660, on the death of his cousin, was the sixth Duke, and was made knight of the Garter. He was sent ambassador extraordinary to the court of Denmark, and was seized with a high fever at Elsinore, where he died in 1672, leaving no issue by Frances his wife, daughter of Walter Stewart, Esq., son of Walter, Lord Blantyre, whereby the honours, heritable offices, &c., of the family, devolved upon King Charles II., as next heir male; but his Majesty gave the life-rent of the whole estate to his widow, the said Frances, then Duchess Dowager of Lennox, &c., &c. The hereditary offices of admiral and great chamberlain he reserved to himself, but afterwards created his natural son, Charles, Duke of Lennox, &c.

B.

Of the antiquity of the illustrious family of Gordon (writes Playfair) all historians bear record; but respecting their first origin and settlement in this island the accounts are various, though they certainly came hither from France, where, long before the Conquest, the Gordons had great possessions, and where several of that name still continue; and it appears most probable that some of these Gordons accompanied William to England. It is said, that in the reign of King Malcolm Canmore, a valiant knight of the name of Gordon went into Scotland, and was kindly received by that prince; and having killed a wild boar which greatly infested the borders, the generous Malcolm gave him a grant of several lands in Berwickshire, which he called Gordon, after his own surname, where he settled, and took the boar's head for his armorial bearing, in memory of his having killed that dangerous animal. He was progenitor of all the Gordons in Scotland; and mention is made of Adam de Gordon the father, and Adam his son, in the reigns of the said Malcolm and David. It is most certain the Gordons made a conspicuous figure in Scotland immediately after that era.

Richard de Gordon, said to be grandson of the knight who killed the boar, or son of the second Adam, was a man of considerable distinction in the reigns of King Malcolm IV. and King William the Lion, who succeeded him in 1165. He was proprietor of the lands and barony of Gordon, and others in Berwickshire, as is proved by a donation he made to St. Mary's Church of Kelso and the monks serving God there, and to the Church of St. Michael's in his village of Gordon, without a date, but which appears to have been made between the years 1150 and 1160. It would be tedious to dwell upon the heroic deeds of this family: suffice it to say, that we find them in the expedition to the Holy Land in 1270, at the battles of Halidon Hill, Neville's Cross, and Homildon; we hear of them adhering to Queen Mary, to the interests of King Charles I. and II. in the civil war; of entering into the service of the crown of Poland, where from their bravery

and conduct they acquired great honour; and bring them down to the period when George, fourth Marquis of Huntley and first Duke of Gordon, was restored by Parliament to his whole estate, and had the Act of Attainder reversed in 1661 by Act of Parliament. He was much esteemed by, and in great favour with, King Charles II., who created him Duke of Gordon by patent, dated Nov. 1st 1684, and on June 6th, 1687, was invested with the order of the Thistle on its revival. Upon the accession of King James II. of England and VII. of Scotland, he was made one of the lords of the treasury, one of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, and governor of the castle of Edinburgh; at the Revolution, he held out the castle of Edinburgh for King James, but at last, seeing no hopes of relief, he surrendered it to the troops of King William, and retired to his country seat, where he continued till his death, in 1716. His Grace married Lady Elizabeth Howard, eldest surviving daughter of Henry, first Earl of Norwich, and Baron Howard, of Castlerising, who afterwards succeeded his brother Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and by her had one daughter and an only son—

Alexander, second Duke of Gordon, who married, in 1706, Lady Henrietta Mordaunt, daughter of Charles, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth, by whom he had four sons and seven daughters. Cosmo George, third Duke of Gordon, who, in reward for his loyalty, during the rebellion of 1745, was in 1747 invested with the most ancient order of the Thistle. His Grace was elected one of the sixteen peers of England and Scotland to the tenth Parliament of Great Britain, and died in August, 1752, when he was succeeded by his eldest son and heir Alexander, fourth Duke of Gordon, grandfather to the subject of this memoir. In 1761 he was elected one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, in which situation he was continued until created an English peer. In 1775 he was made a knight of the Thistle. In the American war he raised and commanded a regiment of Fencibles. In 1784, in consideration of his lineal descent from Henry Howard, Earl of Norwich, he was created a British peer by the title of Earl of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, and Baron Gordon, of Huntley, in the county of Gloucester, and was afterwards appointed keeper of the great seal in Scotland, which office he relinquished, when the ministry he supported were out of power, but in which he was reinstated, when they were again reinstated in power. He married, in

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1767, Jane, daughter of Sir James Maxwell, and by her were the following issue:—George, Marquis of Huntley, the last Duke; Lady Charlotte, the mother of the subject of this memoir; Lady Madelina, married first to Sir Robert Sinclair, Bart., secondly, to Charles Palmer, Esq.; Lady Susan, married to William Montague, Duke of Manchester; Lady Louisa, married to Charles, Marquis Cornwallis; Lady Georgina, married to John, Duke of Bedford; and Lord Alexander, an officer in the army, who died in 1808.

In "The Land of Burns" we find the following:—"George, fourth Duke of Gordon—himself a clever writer of verses—and his beautiful and witty Duchess, Jane Maxwell, were, it is well known, fond of the society of literary men. Beattie was their frequent guest at this noble mansion (Gordon Castle), and an intimate correspondent of the Duchess. Burns, during the first winter of his residence in Edinburgh, was introduced to her Grace, whose name appears in the list of the subscribers to his first metropolitan edition for twenty-one copies. In the course of the Highland tour with Mr. Nicol (September, 1787) coming to Fochabers, and presuming, says Dr. Currie, on his acquaintance with the Duchess, he proceeded to Gordon Castle, leaving Mr. Nicol at the inn in the village. At the castle our poet was received with the utmost hospitality and kindness, and the family being about to sit down to dinner, he was invited to take his place at table as a matter of course. This invitation he accepted, and after drinking a few glasses of wine, he rose up and proposed to withdraw. On being pressed to stay, he mentioned, for the first time, his engagement with his fellow-traveller, and his noble host offering to send a servant to conduct Mr. Nicol to the castle, Burns insisted on undertaking that office himself. He was, however, accompanied by a gentleman, a particular acquaintance of the Duke, by whom the invitation was delivered in all the forms of politeness. The invitation came too late; the pride of Nicol was inflamed into a high degree of passion, by the neglect which he had already suffered. He had ordered the horses to be put to the carriage, being determined to proceed on his journey alone; and they found him parading the streets of Fochabers, before the door of the inn, venting his anger on the postillions, for the slowness with which he obeyed his commands. As no explanation, nor entreaty could change the purpose of his fellow-traveller, our

poet was reduced to the necessity of separating from him entirely, or of instantly proceeding with him on their journey. He chose the last of these alternatives; and seating himself behind Nicol in the post-chaise, with mortification and regret he turned his back on Gordon Castle, where he had promised himself some happy days. Sensible, however, of the great kindness of the noble family, he made the best return in his power, by the poem beginning:—

“ Streams that glide in orient plains,
 Never bound by winter's chains;
 Glowing here on golden sands,
 There commix'd with foulest stains,
 From tyranny's enpurpled bands:
 These, their rich and gleaming waves,
 I leave to tyrants and their slaves,
 Give me the stream that sweetly laves
 The banks, by Castle Gordon.

“ Spicy forests, ever gay,
 Shading from the burning ray
 Hapless wretches sold to toil
 Or the ruthless native's way,
 Bent on slaughter, blood, and spoil;
 Woods that ever verdant wave,
 I leave the tyrant and the slave,
 Give me the groves that lofty brave
 The storms, by Castle Gordon.

“ Wildly here without control
 Nature reigns and rules the whole;
 In that sober pensive mood,
 Dearest to the feeling soul,
 She plants the forest, pours the flood;
 Life's poor day I'll musing rave,
 And find at night a sheltering cave,
 Where waters flow and wild woods wave
 By bonnie Castle Gordon.”

Burns' own note in his memorandum-book takes no notice of the impassioned brutality of Nicol, but marks how agreeably his faculties had been affected by his reception from the Duke and Duchess: “ Cross Spey to Fochabers—fine palace, worthy of the generous proprietor—dine. Company, Duke and Duchess, Ladies Charlotte and Magdeline [afterwards, respectively, Duchess of Richmond, mother of the subject of this memoir, and Lady Sinclair of

Murkle], Colonel Abercromby and lady, Mr. Gordon, and Mr. —, a clergyman, a venerable aged figure—the Duke makes me happier than ever great man did—noble, princely, yet mild, condescending, and affable; gay and kind—the Duchess witty and sensible—God bless them.”

THE END.

